THE SOUTH VINDICATED

FROM THE

TREASON AND FANATICISM

OF THE

NORTHERN ABOLITIONISTS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The following work, having been undertaken solely with the view of vindicating the South from the calumnies of the abolitionists, and of directing public attention to the origin and nature of Domestic Slavery, and to the facts connected with the question of Emancipation—it was considered advisable to present it to the public as early as possible. The very brief period allowed the author in preparing the volume for the press, necessarily precluded much attention to grace of style, or propriety of arrangement. He has sought to present the prominent features of this important subject to the attention of the public, in a plain, distinct, and intelligible manner. If he has succeeded—if he has aided, even in the slightest degree, in unmasking the evils and dangers of Emancipation, as now urged by the fanatics of the North—the writer has attained his sole object—and is content.

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ERRATUM.

The Note on page 79 should have been subjoined to the commencement of Chapter VIII., on the subsequent page.

INTRODUCTION.

The framers of our government, when confronted in their labours by the question of slavery, prudently turned aside from a topic, which menaced their councils with division, and the embryo constitution with death. They left the unquestioned sovereignty of the Southern States over all connected with this most important branch of their domestic relations, untouched. The controversy was buried, as they hoped, for ever; and they departed from the scene of their labours, in the happy confidence that our country did not contain one man so lost to reason and patriotism, as madly to violate the grave in which they saw this exciting question quietly inurned, and drag it forth to madden and distract the land.

The result has proven that their confidence was ill-founded. Every land comprises men prepared, by nature, for treasons, stratagems, and spoils—men who rejoice to tear open and irritate the wounds of their country, and who seek, with sedulous diligence, for those weak and unguarded spots in the body politic, where it may be struck with the most fatal effect. Of their individual character, it is unneces-

sary here to speak. Treason finds disciples of every description and variety. Heated fanaticism and reckless villany, hypocritical guile and honest stupidity, often combine to forward the most nefarious plots. Our own country is not without such men. The sun warms the reptile into life; and freedom often animates into existence beings whose life is a reproach and a calamity to her. There are men who take an unnatural pleasure in the afflictions of their country, and who live only to foment disturbance. Their nature and enjoyments are like those of the sailors' bird of evil omen, which flutters with delight in the breath of the tempest, looks down upon the foundering wreck, and screams, with exultation, in answer to the shrieks of the wretches who perish in the waves. There are others, who, from a leaden vanity, thrust themselves into matters for which their capacities are not suited. They expend time and money in forwarding the designs of their crafty leaders, and are well satisfied with the sacrifice. These men mistake notoriety for fame; their hearts flutter with pleasure when their names are consigned to the contempt of the public, through the medium of the newspapers; and they hear the hiss of outraged propriety with the complacent smirk of gratified pride. There is another class—fanatics—who mistake the promptings of their overheated fancy—the vapours that rise from the molten lead of their own seething brains—for the dictates of inspiration. They are a troublesome race, to whom the tranquillizing chair or strait jacket is the

only effective argument. Still, they should be regarded rather with compassion than anger, as they make themselves fools from conscientious motives. A fourth class remains to be mentioned, entitled only to our contempt and abhorrence. They affect an enthusiasm which they do not feel. Hypocrisy is their professional pursuit. They live upon cant—cant themselves into influence, luxury, and power; and use their sway over the weak and credulous, to forward schemes of ambition, aggrandizement, or malevolence. These men (*and there are such men*) are capable of any act, however atrocious; they would dip their hands in human gore, and then, with their crimson fingers, turn over the leaves of the Bible to find a sanction for the deed.

We have fallen upon evil times. Men have been found who do not scruple to tear off the seals which our fathers set upon the question of slavery. They have broken open, with reckless hands, this magazine, filled with all that can excite and endanger; and are lighting the torch to apply to its materials of fury and desolation. The consequences are such as might have been anticipated. Distrust and fear, indignation and violence, are abroad in our land. Every fibre of our country is quivering with excitement. How could it be otherwise? Our people cannot be expected to stand by, with complacent tranquillity, while mad hands are digging under the foundation stone of our government. They cannot be asked to witness, unmoved, the violation of one of the first of the sacred and unalienated rights of

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the States—a right achieved by the right arm of our fathers, and hallowed in the baptism of blood—a right which existed before our government was called into being, and to which our National Constitution bows in deference. They cannot be desired to gaze on, without alarm or anger, while treason and fanaticism place the brand and the torch in the hands of the savage negro, and, pointing to the whites, bid him rise and destroy. These things must produce excitement. They must alarum the fears—they must awaken the resentment of the people.

> "The flesh will quiver when the pincers tear—
> The blood will follow where the knife is driven."

To be indifferent is impossible; and if possible, would be weak and unwise. The people that submit to such wrong will submit to any thing. The freeman who can, without alarm, witness the development of the *abolition conspiracy*, would scarcely be roused by the "crack of doom." The true patriot, instead of lulling the people into dangerous lethargy, instead of encouraging a slumbrous indifference—will pray heaven to—

> "Fool them not so much
> To bear it tamely; touch them with noble anger."

The crisis is one which calls for the aroused and excited energies of the nation. It is in vain that we are told that the abolitionists are few and feeble—that they are regarded with contempt, and meet daily with the emphatic expression of popular abhorrence.

Circumstances give them power. When the train is laid a child may fire it. Such is our situation; and the people are called upon, by all that is dear or sacred to them, to interpose, arrest the brand of the incendiary, and save the country from the calamities which menace it.

The people must be made acquainted with this subject—they must be apprized of the rights of the South, and informed of the hollowness and falsehood of the appeals which are daily made to them by the abolitionists. We do not, at the North, claim a right so to discuss this subject as to disturb or agitate the South; but when reckless men have sent forth, for the worst purposes, hosts of falsehoods, it is our right and duty to step aside and crush the misbegotten and dangerous brood. This, and this alone, is our aim.

The incendiaries appeal only to the passions; and endeavour, by falsehood and misrepresentation, to mislead and excite the unthinking. Their arguments consist altogether of specious but misty and unintelligible abstractions. They industriously endeavour to enlist religious feelings in favour of their designs; and are constantly fulminating religious denunciations to move and appal the conscientious but weak. They address themselves peculiarly to women and children; and, by maudlin verses and lying pictures, essay not only to rouse the passions of the slave, but to excite the prejudices of the ignorant and unreflecting of our citizens.

Against these arts, the friends of the Constitution

and the Union—the lovers of peace and order—with confidence oppose the force of reason and truth. Let the facts connected with this subject be known to our people, and the frothy effusions of the abolitionists will cease to be dangerous.

SLAVERY AT THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Slavery—Slavery among the ancients, either Involuntary or Voluntary—Involuntary Slavery—from War—Piracy—Crime—Bargain and Sale.

THERE are few topics which have been subjected to so much vague abstraction and empty declamation as slavery. Various theories have been suggested in relation to its origin; but, separated from hypocritical flourish and unmeaning cant, they amount at last to little else than an admission, that slavery originally sprung from the inequality of the race, and the necessities arising from that inequality. The sagacious and powerful subjected their inferiors to their control; and their inferiors, in return, were protected and fed. Nature and necessity created classes, which nothing but the refinements of education could remove. Mind subjected matter to its sway; the bold controlled the timid; the wise directed the weak; and while one class toiled, another counselled, fought and governed. This state of things is not, it must be admitted, accordant with our prin-

ciples or feelings; but it would be difficult to prove that it is at war with nature.

"Slavery," says Voltaire, "is as ancient as war; war, as human nature." As far back as history gives us a record of the race, we find proofs of the existence of slavery. Immediately after the deluge, reference is made to it, (see Gen. ix. 25,) and from that period, throughout the whole range of Hebrew history, numberless evidences are given of its prevalence. Slavery existed and was common before and during the siege of Troy. Homer frequently refers to it. "No legislator of antiquity," to quote again from Voltaire, "attempted to abrogate slavery. Society was so accustomed to this degradation of the species, that Epictetus, who was assuredly worth more than his master, never expresses any surprise at his being a slave."

It is scarcely necessary to designate the nations of antiquity in which slavery prevailed. It was established in all. In those countries most celebrated for their liberality and refinement, the institution of slavery existed in its greatest extent. Egypt was crowded with a servile population. Hardy Sparta and liberal Athens owed much of their power to their numerous slaves. Carthage was also celebrated for the number of her bondmen; and her triumphant rival, Rome, won, in her countless conquests, millions of slaves. Paulus Emilius brought one hundred and fifty thousand slaves to Rome; and Augustus sold thirty-six thousand of the Salassii into slavery. Indeed, throughout the whole known world the institution of slavery appears to have prevailed. Sages and patriots, the wise and benevolent, joined in sustaining it; and the slaves themselves, while they suffered under a bondage not always the most lenient, regarded it as their destiny, and endured it without a murmur.

Slavery among the ancients was of two species,—involuntary and voluntary. Involuntary slavery was that which resulted from war, from piracy or kidnapping, from crime, and from commerce.

Most nations have considered their right over their captives taken in war as absolute. Barbarous conquerors, and those impelled only by a sanguinary thirst for vengeance, sacrificed the lives of the subdued. When a gentler spirit, or more just idea of war, prevailed, the victim was spared, and became the slave of the conqueror. The Romans called their slaves *servi*, from *servare*, to save. The origin of the custom of sparing and enslaving captives, has been ascribed by some writers to Assyria, and by others to Lacedemon; but the probability is, that it prevailed long before it was practised by either of these nations. The improvement of agriculture, the organization of society, the increase of inhabitants, and the establishment of principles in relation to the right of property, tended to dissuade men from unnecessary slaughter, and to make the services of a bondman valuable. We may, therefore, suppose that the practice of enslaving prisoners was one of the earliest incidents of warfare. The humane principles now established as the law of nations—that in war we have a right only to the use of those means which have a connexion morally necessary with the end in view, was unknown to the ancients; and whenever prisoners were not saved as slaves, they were slaughtered without mercy. The most clement of the Roman generals acted upon this principle; and the nations which combined to overturn the colossal power of the mistress of the world, adopted a similar policy. The latter, being generally pastoral in their mode of life, did not need the labour of slaves; and in their incursions on the Roman empire, waged a war of extermination, spar-

ing neither women nor children. The period which elapsed from the reign of Theodosius to the reign of Alboinus, in Lombardy, (from A. D. 395 to A. D. 571,) is, in consequence, considered by Robertson, the most calamitous epoch in the history of the world.*

* We subjoin from Professor Dew's pamphlet on Slavery, a work written with great ability, and to which we invite the attention of the reader, the following instance of the manner in which war is prosecuted in Africa. It affords, by the way, an interesting fact, from which to estimate the comparative condition of the African in this country, and in his native land.

"It is needless to multiply instances further to illustrate the ideas of the ancient world in regard to their rights to kill or enslave at pleasure the unfortunate captive. We will not cite the example of Africa, the great storehouse of slavery for the modern world, which so completely sustains our position in regard to the opinions of men on this subject, farther than to make an extract from a speech delivered in the British House of Commons, by Mr. Henniker, in 1789, in which the speaker asserts that a letter had been received by George III. from one of the most powerful African potentates, the Emperor of Dahomey, which letter admirably exemplifies the African's notions about the right to kill or enslave prisoners of war. 'He (Emperor of Dahomey,) states,' said Mr. H. 'that as he understood King George was the greatest of white kings, so he thought himself the greatest of black ones. He asserted that he could lead five hundred thousand men armed into the field; that being the pursuit to which all his subjects were bred, and the women only staying at home to plant and manure the earth. He had himself fought two hundred and nine battles, with great reputation and success; and had conquered the great King of Ardah—the king's head was to this day preserved with the flesh and hair; the heads of his generals were distinguished by being placed on each side of the doors of their fetiches: with the heads of the inferior officers they paved the space before the doors; and the heads of the common soldiers formed a sort of fringe or outwork round the walls of the palace. Since this war he had experienced the greatest good fortune, and he hoped in good time to be able to complete the out-walls of all his great houses, to the number of seven, in the same manner.'"

One of the earliest examples of this species of warfare may be found in holy writ. The Israelites in invading Canaan, waged against the inhabitants a war of extermination; and the only people (the Gibeonites,) rescued from the sword, were reserved for bondage. "We will even let them live; but let them be hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation."

War, therefore, appears to have been the first and great source of slavery among the ancients. As the nations of that period were generally warlike, the number of captives must have been very great. In truth, the slaves in many countries exceeded in number the free; and the insurrections, which were not unfrequent, were always bloody and destructive.

Another fruitful source of slavery in the ancient world was piracy. This practice prevailed to the greatest extent in the earliest ages, when the human reason had not emerged from the indistinctness of its dawn, when the rights of property were but dubiously understood, and when the skill and courage required in piratical incursions into neighbouring nations were regarded with admiration. "The Grecians," says Thucydides, "in their primitive state, as well as the contemporaneous barbarians who in-

Mr. Morris, who visited this empire in 1772, actually testifies to the truth of this letter. He found the palace of the emperor an immense assemblage of cane and mud huts, enclosed by a high wall. The skulls and jaw-bones of enemies slain in battle, formed the favourite ornaments of the palaces and temples. The king's apartments were paved, and the walls and roof stuck over with these horrid trophies; and if a further supply appeared at any time desirable, he announced to his general that his "house wanted thatch," when a war for that purpose was immediately undertaken. Who can for a moment be so absurd as to imagine, that such a prince as this could doubt of his right to make slaves in war, when he *gloried* in being able to thatch his house with the heads of his enemies?"

habited the sea coasts and islands, addicted themselves wholly to piracy: it was, in short, their only profession and support." The most complete confirmation of this account may be found in Homer and other writers. Indeed, the pursuit was considered heroic and honourable. The dangers attending such enterprizes—the skill, strength, agility and valour required for them—excited the bold and ambitious, while the valuable nature of the spoil recommended it to the selfish and rapacious. At length, however, piracy sunk in reputation as the nations advanced in civilization. It fell into the hands of low and lawless robbers. Their only object was gain; and the practice was continued, accompanied by the perpetration of every species of outrage and rapine. Slaves becoming more and more valuable, the practice was furtively pursued to an immense extent. Many were seized and sold into slavery by their own countrymen; and every coast had its commerce in slaves. The merchants of Thessaly, it is said, were particularly infamous for this species of depredation. The Athenians practised the kidnapping of their own people to so alarming an extent, that it was found necessary to enact a law punishing the offence with death.

In all ages the perpetration of crime has been punished with slavery. This appears to be the most natural and just of the many causes of bondage. The necessities of society require that men guilty of atrocious offences, should be deprived of a freedom which has become dangerous to their fellow beings. If society can require the forfeit of life, it may demand the loss of liberty. Accordingly, we find that among the Greeks and Romans, crime was often the cause of slavery; and in our own times, not only most savage, but civilized countries, among which our own land may be mentioned, have made many

offences punishable with bondage. Even insolvency was punished in Greece and Rome with slavery. The same custom now obtains in Africa.

The traffic of slaves consisted, not only in the sale of the children of freemen by their parents, and the sale of freemen from a want of the means of sustenance, but of the sale of captives and of those born in bondage.

The first instance of slavery by bargain and sale is given in the Scripture History of Joseph. The account of the sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver and his conveyance to Egypt, prove that the practice was common at that time, and that Egypt was a mart for the traffic in slaves. There is, in the Bible, frequent mention of the purchase and sale of slaves. The purest patriarchs participated in the commerce; and the inspired code of the Jews justified and regulated the traffic. The Hebrews were allowed to sell their own countrymen for six years; to sell their sons and daughters; and unlimited power to purchase slaves from the neighbouring nations was expressly given.

"If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and in the seventh he shall go free for nothing."

"If a man *sell* his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men servants."

"Both thy bondmen and bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of strangers who sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy; and of the families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever."

Egypt appears to have been one of the principal markets for the sale of the human species. Homer refers to Cyprus and Egypt as the common marts for slaves in the Trojan war. The traffic was also practised, at that time, in many of the islands of the Ægean sea. Tyre and Sidon are described by the Scriptures, as prosecuting this commerce. In truth, it prevailed in the whole of the known world. In Greece and Rome, and their colonies, the trade was universal; and among the nations which overran the South of Europe, it prevailed until the establishment of the Feudal System. That system was little else than a modification of the slavery of the ancients, to suit the circumstances and necessities of the rude and warlike nations in which it was adopted. It was admirably adapted to the purposes of defence, but did little, if any thing, to lighten the bonds of the slave, or ameliorate the condition of the race.

Slavery continued to exist, even in Europe, up to a late period. In the middle ages the Venetians carried on a very extended commerce in slaves; which was prohibited by the pope, only so far as it included trade in Christians. In England the Anglo-Saxon nobility sold their servants as slaves to foreigners; and even after the conquest, and until the reign of Henry II. slaves were exported, in numbers, from England to Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

Slavery among the Ancients continued—Voluntary Slavery—Roman Mercenarii—Grecian Prodigals—German Enthusiasts—Condition of Slaves—Power and inhumanity of Masters.

PERHAPS slavery, when resulting from insolvency, might with propriety be regarded as voluntary. The freeman who pursued a course which resulted in bondage, and thus incurred a fate which might have been avoided, may be considered as having assumed it. If this be admitted, the number of voluntary bondmen in Greece and Rome, where the refinement of society rendered the vicissitudes of fortune frequent, must be accounted very great.

In Rome there existed a large body of slaves, or servants, known as *mercenarii*. This title was given them because they received hire. They were free-born citizens, set down in the books as *liberi*, and distinguished from the foreigners, or *alieni*, who served the rich.

In the time of the Emperor Claudian, the Roman Senate passed a decree permitting those who were born free to sell their freedom and become slaves. This law remained in force until abrogated by Leo.

The *Grecian Thetes* were servants of a character somewhat similar to the *mercenarii*. They received are compense for their labours; and, though treated as slaves and obliged to perform the most servile offices, were not completely subject to the

will of their master, but could, at the expiration of a certain term, obtain their discharge if used with illegal severity.

There was, amongst the Greeks, a species of slaves denominated *Prodigals.* They were those who, having incurred debts which they were unable to liquidate, were sold for the satisfaction of their creditors. The *Delinquents* were debtors of a similar description, who having imprudently subjected themselves to the loss of their liberty, were sentenced to the gallies and laboured at the oar.

The most singular class of which we have an account, were the *German Enthusiasts.* They were gamblers, who, pursuing their intoxicating and fatal passion to the last stake, maddened by the excitement of the game, placed their persons on the hazard of the die, and, in case of failure, were sold as slaves. The whole account exhibits, in vivid colours, the strength of the passion for gaming—a passion which prevails with equal power, in the hut of the savage and the hell of the more finished gamester of refined society. Tacitus gives the following description of the Enthusiasts. "The loser," says the historian, "goes into voluntary servitude; and though younger and stronger than the person with whom he played, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold. Their perseverance in so bad a custom is styled *honour.* The slaves thus obtained are immediately exchanged away in commerce, that the winner may get clear of the scandal of his victory."

The condition of slaves among the ancients was totally different from that of modern slaves. Instead of being protected, as now, not only from unjust severity on the part of the master, but from suffering or want, they were wholly in the power of their owners. There was no limit to the power of the master over the slave. The latter was, in a civil

sense, dead. His limbs, life, faculties and affections were all at the mercy of his lord. In a legal point of view, he had neither name nor tribe; he was recognized as possessing no rights; and was, in fact, as completely within the power of the master as his horse or his dog.

There were, however, some partial exceptions to this general description. The Egyptian slave, though perhaps a greater drudge than any other, was protected from murder, and could, if he succeeded in reaching the temple of Hercules, secure a retreat from the oppressive severity of his master. The Hebrews also appear to have treated their slaves with lenity.

Athens, however, was distinguished above all the nations of antiquity for her peculiar humanity to slaves. In no place were they allowed so many privileges or treated with so much kindness. Demosthenes, in his Second Philippic, states that "the condition of a slave in Athens was preferable to that of a free citizen in many other countries." They were allowed great liberty of speech, and were permitted to enjoy a certain portion of time in their own peculiar pursuits, their private labours, amusements, amours or hours of relaxation and rest. They also had a temple of refuge; and were allowed the privilege of appealing to the legal tribunal against their masters in case of harshness or inhumanity. Besides these advantages, they possessed the invaluable privilege of redeeming themselves from bondage. They had an opportunity of working for themselves; and when their skill or industry had enabled them to accumulate a sufficient sum, they might purchase manumission, and become free for ever.

In Sparta and Carthage, the slaves were treated with more severity. In Rome, the power of the

master over his slave was absolute, extending to the right of depriving him of life. This severity was moderated under the emperors; and by a law of Adrian, the right of the master to slay his slave was withdrawn. By the Roman law, if a master was killed, all the slaves under the same roof or near enough to be able to hear his cries, were put to death. This severe provision was, we presume, intended to prevent those bloody acts of vengeance to which the cruelty of the master, at times, impelled the slave. The slave, and all that belonged, or could belong to him, was considered the property of the master. From the conduct of some of the most venerated patriots of Rome, it appears that inhumanity to slaves excited neither surprise nor censure. It was the practice of the elder Cato to sell his superannuated slaves at any price rather than maintain an useless burthen. Indeed, it appears to have been a custom in Rome to expose old, useless and sick slaves on an island of the Tiber to perish; and a law of Claudian upon the subject, instead of punishing and suppressing the barbarous practice, merely gave liberty to any slave who chanced to recover after having been thus exposed and abandoned. The same law prohibits masters from killing their slaves, *merely for old age or sickness.* Italy and Sicily were full of places of confinement, called *Ergastula,* in which slaves were kept at labour. One of the most formidable insurrections was occasioned by the breaking up of these *Ergastula,* and the simultaneous liberation of sixty thousand slaves.

From the facts, stated in this and the preceding chapter, it will be seen that slavery has always prevailed; and is so interwined with the necessities of the race, that while man exists, slavery will probably exist also. It will also be seen, that the wisest and most liberal nations of antiquity did not hesi-

tate to encourage domestic slavery; and, instead of regarding it as inconsistent with political liberty or injurious to national weal, they sanctioned it as one of the greatest securities and auxiliaries of both. It will be observed, in addition, that the institution of slavery has not only had the assent and sanction of *all* the patriots, philanthropists and sages of antiquity, but that the divine will has been distinctly and actively expressed in its favour. A comparison of the condition of ancient and modern slavery may, also, perhaps, enlighten the prejudices of some of those who affect to sympathize with the bondman, and lament over the fictitious recital of the sternness of the American master and the hardships of the American slave.—But on these points we will speak more at large hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

Origin, progress, and abolition of the African Slave Trade.

The African slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese. In 1434 a Portuguese captain landed in Guinea; and having captured some negro lads, he bore them to the south of Spain, and sold them to great advantage. The opening thus made was soon crowded with adventurers. The Portuguese made descents upon the coast of Africa, seized the inhabitants, and carried them into slavery. These depredations at length became so frequent and formidable, that the blacks retreated into the interior. Thither, however, their persecutors followed them. The Portuguese entered their rivers, and penetrating into the country, continued and extended their spoliations.

The traffic soon became so important, as to render a more permanent and secure system necessary to furnish the traders with the requisite supply of slaves. The plan was changed. Recourse to force was abandoned, and a peaceful commerce was commenced with the natives. Settlements were made, forts built, and factories erected; and the trade soon became extended and mutual.

The Portuguese erected their first fort at D'Elmina, in 1481. Other European nations soon followed their example. Treaties were made with the African kings; they agreed to furnish slaves, and

the traders, in return, brought them the luxuries and ornaments of Europe.

The object of this trade, on the part of the Europeans, was to supply the necessities of their extensive western colonies. The newly discovered and settled portions of the western world, being generally in a latitude fatal to European constitutions, it was found necessary to subject the natives to labour. In most instances this proved unsuccessful; and recourse was, at length, had to the natives of Africa, whose constitutions were found to agree with the exposure and hardships required. In 1517, Las Casas, who had seen the poor Indians melting away like dew, proposed to the Emperor Charles V. to substitute negro labour; and a charter was accordingly granted for the importation of four thousand slaves annually into Hispaniola.

The slave trade, which at first consisted wholly in the transportation of those who had forfeited their liberty in their own country, as criminals or prisoners of war, was at length extended by the wants of the colonies, and the rapacity of the African chiefs. Those who were suspected of crime became slaves; and causeless wars were undertaken, for the sole purpose of making captives for the slave trade. The traffic continued to extend with the growth and wants of the colonies, up to the close of the eighteenth century.

Those who collect the slaves for the traders have been divided into several classes. The first consisted of a chain of black traders from the interior to the sea-board. They procured slaves, sometimes at a distance of twelve hundred miles in the country, and forwarded them on to the factories. The second class was composed of individuals who travelled inland, and collecting as many slaves as they could transport, brought them to the stations. The third class comprised those who ascended the rivers to a

great height, in large canoes, and thus collected numbers of slaves. The prices paid for slaves were generally trivial, but advanced as the trader approached the coast. The articles given in exchange consisted generally of liquor, muskets, powder, &c.

Large numbers of slaves were procured by the depredations of native princes, dignified with the name of wars. It appears that the native Africans, instead of being in the state of primeval innocence and undisturbed tranquillity, in which they have been frequently painted, may be regarded as the most savage of the barbarous races of mankind. They are in continual war with each other. Different tribes are constantly struggling to make prisoners of each other, in order to provide slaves for the Europeans; and when enemies cannot be thus obtained, the chiefs frequently assail their own villages, make their own people slaves, and sell them to the whites. Perhaps a more revolting picture of humanity has never been drawn than may be found in the description of Africa; and much as the evils of slavery are to be deplored, it is extremely doubtful whether the lot of the African is not absolutely improved, by being, even forcibly, placed under the protection of the laws of a civilized and Christian country.

Clarkson, the great champion of Africa, divides the slaves into seven classes. The first and largest class consists of those who are kidnapped. It seems that the inhabitants of Africa prey upon each other like wild beasts. Kidnapping prevails throughout the whole country. It is said to be the first principle of the natives never to go unarmed. This precaution is rendered necessary by the predatory habits of their countrymen. The second order of slaves is composed of those whose villages are depopulated in capturing them. The third class consists of those convicted of crime. The fourth class includes pri-

soners of war. The fifth class comprehends those who are slaves by birth. The number of native slaves is said to be very large; and a humane writer alleges that many make a regular business of breeding slaves for commerce. The sixth and seventh classes are composed of gamblers and insolvents.

All writers agree in describing the habits of the native negro as extremely savage, and their conduct towards each other as treacherous, lawless, and to the last degree inhuman. Violence, rapine, and slaughter appear to prevail throughout that unhappy country. The native wars are described as merciless and wanton, having no motive but the capture of prisoners, and being regulated by no law human or divine. Mr. Ashmun, the agent at Liberia, gives the following account of the extermination of a tribe by one of the native chiefs. The incident took place in 1822.

"I wish to afford the board a full view of our situation, and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place perhaps every month in the year; but it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain, our most powerful supporter and steady friend among the natives, (so he has uniformly shown himself,) received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honour to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him for his victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping inhabitants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty

or resistance, the annihilation (with the exception of a few towns) *of the whole tribe.* Every adult man and woman was murdered; every hut was fired; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents. The boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."—Such are the horrors which surround the African in his native country.

The natives of Africa, instead of regarding the slave-trade as oppressive or calamitous, do all in their power to foster and encourage it, and oppose every effort made by the European governments to suppress it. When, in consequence of the French revolution, the demand for slaves had lessened, the king of Dahomey, on the slave coast, sent, in 1796, an embassy to Lisbon, consisting of his brother and son, for the purpose of effecting a treaty with Portugal and reviving the slave traffic. Upon the African coast, since the abolition of the slave trade, whenever attempts have been made to dislodge the factories and fortifications of the slavers, the natives have gathered and interposed to protect them.

When the slaves are collected in the ship of the slave trader, they are bound two and two together, and placed in their apartments, the men occupying the fore part, the women the after part, and the boys the middle, of the vessel. The tops of these apartments are grated for the admission of air. The vessels are generally from eleven to eight hundred tons, and carry from thirty to fifteen hundred slaves at a time. The apartments vary in height from six feet to less than three feet. In this confined room, they are packed in the smallest possible shape—each individual being allowed, in the best regulated ships, but sixteen English inches in width, two feet eight inches in height, and five feet eleven inches in length. It is unnecessary to paint

the horrors of such a situation. In an atmosphere heated and polluted to suffocation, with scarcely space to move, and crowded by hundreds in the hold of a vessel, it is not strange that they die in great numbers. In fine weather, they are brought upon deck and made to exercise themselves, by dancing and singing; and, as the death or illness of the slaves is a heavy loss to the trader, we have no reason to believe that they neglect the means in their power to preserve their health, or that they treat them with unnecessary and wanton cruelty. Their design is gain; and, though they exhibit but little humanity in its pursuit, and are willing to perpetrate any enormity for money, it is not probable that they would indulge a cruelty equally unnecessary and unprofitable. The negro is regarded, in their horrid philosophy, as a valuable animal, and is treated with neither more nor less humanity than they would treat a valuable horse. The sufferings of the poor negro, during the voyage, are, however, undeniable, and may be conceived from the fact that from fifteen to twenty per cent. die on the passage. Indeed, the number is sometimes much greater; and Wilberforce stated, that "out of every lot of one hundred shipped from Africa, seventeen died in about nine weeks, and not more than fifty lived to become effective labourers in our islands."

Of the extent of the slave trade it is difficult to speak with confidence. When the subject was taken up in the British House of Commons, it was asserted, that the British alone bought 40,000 slaves annually. Mr. Dundas of the British Parliament, stated, that, in 1791, the British importation consisted of 74,000. From the commencement of the trade up to the present time, there is reason to believe that several millions of slaves have been taken from the shores of Africa.

The slave trade received, at different times, the express sanction of the governments of all the commercial nations of Europe. The Spanish government, the French under Louis XIII., and the English under queen Elizabeth, formally permitted the traffic. The trade was regarded as legitimate and proper; and received the decided encouragement of the governments interested in its support.

The slave trade was abolished by Virginia, a sovereign and independent state, in 1778. To the *Old Dominion*, therefore, belongs the honour of having struck the first decisive blow at that inhuman traffic. Several other states of this confederacy followed. In 1792, Denmark passed a law, providing for the abolition of the trade in 1803. The importation of slaves ceased in the United States in January, 1808, and in Great Britain and her colonies in March of the same year. In 1815, Portugal provided for the abolition of the slave trade in 1823. France, in 1815, consented to its immediate abolition. Spain, in 1817, agreed to abolish it in 1820. The Netherlands prohibited it in 1818; Sweden in 1813; and Brazil in 1826.

Notwithstanding the prohibition of the slave trade by almost every government in Christendom, and the great efforts made for its effectual suppression, there is every reason to believe that it still exists to a frightful degree, and that what it may have lost in extent it has gained in cruelty. The trade is now carried on by stealth, and many restraints are added, which before the abolition of the trade were unnecessary. Mr. Walsh, in his notices of Brazil, in 1828 and 1829, says, "this horrid traffic in human flesh is nearly as extensively carried on as ever, and under circumstances perhaps of a more revolting character. The restriction of slavery to the south of the line, was, in fact, nugatory, and evaded on

all occasions. The whole number of slaves captured by our cruisers, and afterwards emancipated, for nine years, from June 1819 to July 1828, was 13,281, being about 1400 on an average each year. During that period, it is supposed that nearly 100,000 human beings were annually transported as slaves from different parts of the coast, of whom more than 43,000 were legally imported into one city alone."

CHAPTER IV.

Origin and Progress of Slavery in this Country.

SLAVERY has existed in this country from a very early period. It was introduced shortly after its settlement, contributed to its infant vigour, and has since "grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength." It was at, and after, the time of its introduction, common to all the European colonies in America. Each of the Anglo-American provinces comprised, at different times, a greater or less number of slaves; and all were equally involved in the sanction of slave holding. It is true, that the North has never contained so large a number of slaves as the South. The climate of the southern provinces, the nature of their agricultural pursuits, and the necessities of their inhabitants, induced the extensive employment of slave labour. In the North, the negro would have been a burthen, not an aid. The hardy pilgrims of New England, so far from needing the labour of the African, could scarce have spared him the means of subsistence. Had the pilgrims fainted beneath the sultry sun of the South, had they been engaged in the same pursuits as their southern brethren, and felt the same necessity for aid, they would not now be enabled to boast their exemption from a slave population. The absence of slavery in the Northern states, is wholly to be ascribed to the fact, that slaves have not been necessary nor even valuable to the inhabitants of that sec-

tion of our country. It is true that they have always felt a repugnance to the introduction of Africans into the country, but that repugnance has not been more warmly cherished, or more forcibly manifested than by the people of the South; and those citizens of our Northern states who express such a holy abhorrence of slavery in other sections of our country, should be reminded that their exemption is wholly the result of the accidents of situation and climate; and that they would themselves be slave-holders, had it not been their interest, or the interest of their ancestors, to be otherwise.

The importation of slaves from Africa to the West India islands was commenced, and had attained a considerable height, before the enterprize of England, excited by the gallant Raleigh, had been turned to the settlement of North America. England had already engaged successfully in the slave trade. Hawkins, in 1562, entered into the commerce, and found its profits so great, that Queen Elizabeth herself did not scruple, not only to sanction its prosecution, but to share its responsibility and profits. This was the commencement of a pursuit which was afterwards followed by England with unequalled ardour and unequalled success. At a subsequent period, she almost monopolized the slave trade; and attained a degree of skill, hardihood and cruelty in its prosecution, which her rivals in the hateful traffic were never able to surpass. To England, that nation of philanthropists, whose people have taken so deep an interest in the subject of American slavery, is to be ascribed the importation of a majority of those wretched beings who were torn from their native country and sold into slavery. But of this hereafter.

African slaves were first introduced into the North American colonies, in 1620. A Dutch ship arrived

in Virginia, having on board twenty slaves, who were sold to individuals in the colony.—The trade thus commenced was continued, but, in consequence of the opposition of the colony, did not, for many years, become extensive. Thirty years after the first arrival of slaves in Virginia, that colony contained fifty whites to one negro. Even after seventy years had elapsed from the date of the foundation of the colony, it comprised, proportionally, much fewer slaves than several of the Northern states at the time of the war of independence. It was not until the slave trade fell into the hands of the British, and was prosecuted under the immediate smile of the English government, that the number of blacks in the North American colonies was greatly increased.

Under the auspices of the mother country, slavery was rapidly extended. The want of labourers in the Southern colonies enabled the traders, notwithstanding the opposition of the local legislatures, to throw large numbers of slaves into the country. Some years after, we find that the blacks outnumbered the whites in the South. In 1730, there were twenty-eight thousand negroes in South Carolina. In 1740, the slaves in South Carolina were three times as numerous as the whites. The blacks in Virginia were also, at that period, greatly superior in numbers to their masters. For a long time afterwards, the slaves continued to be a majority. In 1763, the black population of Virginia was one hundred thousand; and the white seventy thousand. In South Carolina the blacks were ninety thousand; and the whites only forty thousand.

The slave trade, notwithstanding the repugnance of the colonies, was prosecuted up to the era of the revolution. The number of slaves continued to increase accordingly up to that time. The number of slaves, and their proportion to the whites, from

1790 up to 1830, will appear by the following table.

Census of	*Slaves.*	*Total Population.*
1790, - - -	697,697	3,929,827
1800, - - -	896,849	5,305,925
1810, - - -	1,191,364	7,289,314
1820, - - -	1,538,064	9,638,181
1830, - - -	2,010,436	12,856,407

The relative proportion of the free and slave population, may be better understood by the following:

In 1790, for every	100	free persons	there were	21.59 slaves.
1800, "	do.	"		18.99 "
1810, "	do.	"		19.53 "
1820, "	do.	"		18.99 "
1830, "	do.	"		18.53 "

It is well known that the African, fresh from his savage wilds, is much more intractable than the negro born in this country. The genial influence of civilization, the advantages of christianity, and a sense of the kindness and protection of the master, render the American-born negro often a domestic friend, and attach him to the family of his master so fondly that he is prepared to defend them with his life rather than assail them. The early Africans in this country, though more gentle and voluptuous than those imported into the West Indies, were fiercer and more prone to insurrection than any of their descendants. Upon several different occasions they rose upon their masters; but notwithstanding their fearful superiority in numbers, were, without difficulty, quelled. In 1738, the blacks of South Carolina revolted, but were subdued. At an earlier period, in 1712, the negroes in New York rose, set fire to the city, and killed those who attempted to

stay the conflagration. They were, without serious difficulty quelled; and a large number were executed for their offences.

The rapid increase of the negro population of the south, until the time of the revolution, is tobe ascribed not merely to natural increase, the result of the kind treatment of the southern slave holder, the lightness of his work, and the abundance of his food, but to extensive and continued importation. The slave trade was prosecuted with energy until the declaration of independence enabled the Americans to suppress it. The privilege was embraced as soon as circumstances rendered it prudent. Virginia abolished the slave trade in 1778. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island suppressed it in 1780, 87, 88. The American continental congress passed a resolution against the purchase of imported slaves; and, not having power to suppress it, published an exhortation to the colonies to abandon the trade altogether.

In the formation of a constitution for the United States, in 1787, the following clauses in relation to slavery, were incorporated with the national charter.

"Representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*"

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax, or duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

Though the last quoted provision of the constitution prevented the suppression of the importation of slaves, before 1808, the third congress, under the present government, prohibited the carrying on of the slave trade from our ports. Several subsequent enactments discouraging and restraining the trade were passed: and on the 2d of March, 1807, the importation of slaves was fully and effectually prohibited under the heaviest penalties.

Of the course of the South, in relation to this subject, Mr. Walsh makes the following remarks: "In truth, the representatives from our southern states *have been foremost* in testifying their abhorrence of the traffic; an abhorrence springing from a deep sense, not merely of its iniquity, but of the magnitude of the evil which it has entailed upon the country. It was only at the last session of the American congress (March 1, 1819,) that a member from Virginia proposed the following regulation, to which the house of representatives agreed without a division. 'Every person who shall import into the United States, or knowingly aid or abet the importation into the United States, of any African negro, or other person, with intent to sell or use such negro, or other person, as a slave, or shall purchase any such slave, knowing him or her to be thus imported, shall, on conviction thereof, in any circuit court of the United States, be punished with death.' The rarity of capital punishment in the penal code of the United States, and the extreme aversion from a recourse to it, universally prevailing, make this instance a potent proof of the sincerity of the dispositions which we profess respecting the slave trade."

At the same session, congress passed a law providing for the effectual suppression of the slave traffic. From that time to the present, the importation of slaves, denounced as it is by the laws, and

abhorred by the people, must have been extremely limited. Our slave population has since increased with that rapidity which the comforts and abundance of their condition induce; but not, as will be seen hereafter, in a ratio greater than the increase of the whites, nor sufficient to justify the fears of those nervous patriots who apprehend danger from their numbers. They have remained quiet and contented, with the exception of a limited insurrection caused by the sinister interference of misguided fanatics. The South has grown affluent in her slave population; and the South-west, with the aid of their robust and well-directed labour, is improving with a rapidity almost unequalled. Meanwhile, the North has shared generously in the universal welfare. Her manufactories have been supplied with Southern cotton, and have again found outlets in the Southern markets. North and South have filled the stations and performed the duties assigned them by nature; and each have equally benefited by the institution of slavery. The slaves themselves, without a complaint, or a cause of complaint, have lived on in tranquillity and comfort, and attained a degree of moral and religious excellence which in no other country or condition have they been able to reach.

CHAPTER V.

America not responsible for the introduction of Slavery into this country—Of the course of the British Government, &c.

As the bitterest invective has been used by the writers and speakers of Great Britain against this country on account of its sanction of slavery, and as even among our own citizens at the North many are found who regard it as a national crime, it may be well to show how far the Americans are responsible for it, and who, if it be a crime, are the guilty authors of African slavery. It will be our aim, by a plain and succinct narrative of the facts connected with the introduction of Africans into this country to prove,

1. That the people of this country did not introduce slavery within its borders.

2. That they opposed its introduction with ardour and energy.

3. That this opposition was general with the colonies—commenced at the introduction of slavery, and continued until it succeeded in effecting the abolition of the slave trade.

4. That the course of the colonies on this subject was not only repulsed, but resented by the English government.

5. That some of the Southern states were pre-eminently distinguished by the boldness and energy with which they opposed the slave trade.

6. That the anxiety of the Americans to prevent the introduction of slaves into the country, was one of the causes which induced the declaration of independence.

7. That slavery was introduced into, and entailed upon, this country, by Great Britain.

8. That the English government directly sanctioned and *aided* the importation of Africans into America.

9. That the English are accountable for a greater amount of atrocity in the prosecution of the slave trade, than any other people.

10. That they engaged more extensively in the trade, urged it with more skill and cruelty, and effected a greater amount of importation, than any of their rivals.

11. That they opposed the abolition of the trade until it became their interest to abolish it, and then made a merit of an act of craft and policy.

12. That the English people, ever since its abolition by parliament, have been engaged in the trade to a great extent.

The English government has been no stranger to those acts of oppression in which slavery originates. We have seen that the Anglo-Saxons sold their servants as slaves. In the reign of Edward VI. a law was passed, authorizing the sale of "all idle vagabonds" as slaves. The Scots taken at the battle of Dunbar were sent into involuntary slavery in New England. Indeed, it seems to have been the established practice of the times to ship prisoners to this country. At the same time, crowded and cruel exportations of Irish Catholics were made, accompanied by all the atrocities of the negro slave trade. "In 1685," says Bancroft, in his History of the United States, "when nearly a thousand of the prisoners, condemned for participating in the insurrec-

tion of Monmouth, were sentenced to transportation, some gentlemen of influence at court, among others sir Christopher Musgrave, begged of the monarch the convicted insurgents as a merchantable commodity, and satisfied their avarice by the sale of their countrymen into slavery." These cases differ in no particular from African slavery. If the people of England, at so late and refined a period, were willing to traffic in the flesh and blood of their own kin and colour—we need not wonder at their eager and inhuman ardour in the African slave trade.

From 1567, when queen Elizabeth became the partner of sir John Hawkins in stealing slaves from the shores of Africa, and *smuggling them*, against the laws of Spain, into the Spanish colonies—from that period, up to the time of the American Revolution, the English commerce in slaves was prosecuted without intermission, and to an almost incredible extent. Mr. Walsh's Appeal—a work which does honour to American literature, and from which we have derived much valuable information on this subject—says, "England herself supplied her North American colonies from the outset with negroes, whom she sought, seized, and manacled on the coast of Africa, and dragged and sold into this continent. The *institution* of negro slavery—'the great curse of America'—lies at her door. What was her motive? The alleviation of the lot of her sons, whom she had driven into the distant wilderness? No British writer has counted so far upon the simplicity of mankind, as to hazard this explanation. The motive was sheer love of gain; omniverous avarice, looking not merely to the immediate profit upon the cargo of human flesh, but to the greater and permanent productiveness of the settlements, whose staples were to be monopolized by the mother country."

The slave trade received the sanction of the Bri-

tish government from its commencement, and retained it to its close. The reigns of Elizabeth, Charles I. and II., James II., and William III.* afforded it the most marked and active encouragement. The minister of the latter declared the trade to be "highly beneficial to the nation." The sanction of government was expressed not only by acts of Parliament, but by the aid of every department, and the policy of every administration. The course pursued towards the colonies, on this subject, was uniform. In 1765, the governor of Jamaica, in opposition to an attempt made by that colony to abolish the slave trade to the island, said that his instructions would never allow him to approve the measure; and when, in 1774, the attempt was repeated, Great Britain, by the Earl of Dartmouth, President of the Board, replied—"We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

The slave-trade was commenced in England be-

* In the 16th of James I. a royal charter was granted to a number of eminent citizens of London, as a joint stock company. to trade with Africa. Another company was created by Charles I. "On the accession of Charles II." says Davenant, "a representation being soon made to him, that the British plantations in America were, by degrees, advancing to such a condition as necessarily required a greater supply of servants and labourers than could well be spared from England, without the danger of depopulating his majesty's native dominions, his majesty did (*upon account of supplying these plantations with negroes*) publicly *invite* all his subjects to the subscription of a new joint stock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to Africa." In 1792, twenty-six acts of Parliament could be enumerated, encouraging and sanctioning the trade. The English government, in several treaties with Spain, engaged to supply her colonies with negroes; and, by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain granted to the English sovereign the contract for introducing 4800 negroes annually into the Spanish dominions, for thirty years.

fore the existence of the American colonies. After their settlement, and the introduction of slavery by the mother country, the colonies had no power over the commerce, and cannot be regarded as answerable for its continuance. That they were sincerely and decidedly opposed to it, is demonstrated by their early, anxious, and continued efforts against it.

On the introduction of slaves into South Carolina, that colony passed a law prohibiting further importation; but Great Britain rejected the law, rebuked the colony, and declared the trade "*beneficial and necessary to the mother country.*"

Virginia was early and constant in her efforts to discourage the trade. "The negro race," says Bancroft, "was, from the first, regarded with disgust, and its union with the whites forbidden under ignominious penalties." "The laws of Virginia," he also remarks, "at a very early period discouraged its increase by a special tax upon female slaves." In 1662, the Virginia legislature passed a law prohibiting "*Englishmen*, traders and others" from bringing Indians, as servants or slaves, into the colony, thus expressing their anxiety to suppress the trade when permitted to do so by the mother country. Judge Tucker, in his Notes on Blackstone, enumerates twenty-three acts by the Virginia legislature, imposing duties on slaves imported into the colony. This duty amounted, at one time, to twenty per cent. The following passage occurs in Brougham's Colonial Policy. "Every measure proposed by the Colonial legislatures that did not meet the entire concurrence of the British cabinet, was sure to be rejected, in the last instance, by the crown. In the colonies, the direct power of the crown, backed by all the resources of the mother country, prevents any measure obnoxious to the crown from being

carried into effect, even by the unanimous efforts of the Colonial legislature. If examples were required, we might refer to the history of the abolition of the slave-trade in Virginia. A duty on the importation of negroes had been imposed, amounting to a prohibition. The assembly, induced by a temporary peculiarity of circumstances, repealed this law by a bill which received the immediate sanction of the crown. But never afterwards could the royal assent be obtained to a renewal of the duty, although, as we are told by Mr. Jefferson, all manner of expedients were tried for this purpose, by almost every subsequent assembly that met under the colonial government. The very first assembly that met under the new constitution, finally prohibited the traffic."

In 1772, the Virginia assembly prepared, and transmitted to the throne, a petition for leave to abolish the slave-trade to that colony, from which the following is extracted.

"We are encouraged to look up to the throne and implore your Majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature.

"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions.

"We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects of Great Britain may reap emolument from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happi-

ness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty *to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's governors of this colony which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.*" The petition was rejected.

Massachusetts exhibited equal boldness and ardour in her opposition to the slave-trade. In 1645, two citizens of Boston, one a member of the church, fitted out a ship and sailed for Guinea, to trade for negroes. It is somewhat remarkable that the first instance of participation in the traffic, on the part of the colonies, is to be referred to that state which has since become the favourite laboratory of the abolitionists and incendiaries. The colonial commerce in slaves was always confined, principally, if not wholly, to the traders of the North. Whatever might have been the conduct of individuals, the colony manifested the most anxious determination to discourage the trade. When the vessel, above referred to, arrived, the traders were committed for the offence; and the General Court directed that the negroes be restored to their native country. About the same time, a law was passed prohibiting commerce in slaves, except such as were taken in lawful war or condemned to servitude for their crimes; and, at a much earlier date, the colony incorporated with its penal code, an enactment punishing man-stealing with death. In 1703, Massachusetts imposed a duty of £4 upon every negro imported into the colony. Other efforts were made, but failed in consequence of the opposition of the crown. The instructions to Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, dated June 30th, 1761, contained this clause: "*You are not to give your assent to, or pass any*

law, imposing duties on negroes imported into New Hampshire." This appears to have been the tenor of the orders of all the governors on this subject. In 1774, when the legislature of Massachusetts passed a bill, entitled, "An act to prevent the importation of negroes and others, as slaves into this province," Governor Huchinson refused his sanction and dissolved the assembly. He afterwards, in answer to a deputation of blacks, stated that he had acted under his instructions. His successor, General Gage, was also instructed to refuse his sanction to any law, the object of which was the discouragement of the slave-trade.

Pennsylvania adopted a similar policy, and passed various laws intended to discourage the introduction of slaves. All the colonies, in short, united in deprecating and abhorring the introduction of negro slavery into the country, and passed ineffectual enactments for its discouragement. The efforts of the colonies, stripped as they were of all power of legislation on the subject without the royal assent, necessarily proved unavailing. The mother country was not to be turned aside from her purpose. If the shrieks of afflicted Africa were unable to move her, if she was willing to glut her "omnivorous avarice," as Mr. Walsh has justly termed it, on the tears and blood of the slave, it was not to be expected that the prayers and remonstrances of her feeble colonies—always the victim of her selfish and merciless policy—could shake or soften her stern and unscrupulous pursuit of gold.

That the policy of England on this subject, and her cold and sneering disregard of the interests and anxiety of the colonies, did much to accelerate their subsequent alienation—we have every reason to believe. Mr. Burke, in his speech on the conciliation with America, referred to her "refusal to

deal any more in the inhuman traffic of the negro slaves, as one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain." The first clause of the constitution of the state of Virginia, framed immediately after the commencement of the revolution, mentions "the inhuman use of the royal negative" to prevent the discouragement of the slave-trade, as one of the grievances which induced a recourse to the desperate remedy of revolution. The course of Great Britain on this subject is detailed, with great force and justice, in Mr. Jefferson's original draught of the Declaration of American Independence.

"He (King George) has waged civil war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him: captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain: determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting these very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

This, it must be reluctantly admitted, is a correct portraiture of the policy of Great Britain towards this country, in relation to the subject of slavery. While it was her interest to darken our shores with

African slaves, the inhumanity of the commerce was disregarded; the prayers of the colonies were repulsed; and her government and people united to entail upon us for ever a servile population. No sooner, however, is the commerce checked by the oppressed colonies, than, in a sudden burst of piety, she is agonized at the existence of slavery; shocked at our turpitude in holding in bondage those whom she has forced upon us in such numbers, that to free them would involve both them and us in common ruin; and, by a policy the most insidious, she endeavours, of course from motives of the purest philanthropy, to excite the slaves to insurrection and murder! Such was her policy during the revolution,—such was her policy in the late war—*such is her policy now.*

CHAPTER VI.

English Slave Trade—Extent—Cruelty—Motives of Abolition—Violation of the Law Abolishing the Trade.

Of the various nations who have stained their escutcheon with the blood of Africa, who have torn her children from their homes, and sold them into slavery—England is the most profoundly guilty. "The truth is," said Mr. Pitt, in the English parliament, "there is no nation in Europe which has plunged so deeply into this guilt as Britain. *We* stopped the natural progress of civilization in Africa. *We* cut her off from the opportunity of improvement. *We* kept her down in a state of darkness, bondage, ignorance, and bloodshed. We have there subverted the whole order of nature; we have aggravated every national barbarity, and furnished to every man motives for committing, under the name of trade, acts of perpetual hostility and perfidy against his neighbour. Thus has the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe." The humiliating confession was true. In the extent and atrocity of her human traffic, England had no rival.

England may be considered as having been the slave merchant of the world. She engrossed two-thirds of the trade. She trafficked in flesh and blood with every country, and became the unfeeling factor of the slave dealers in all sections of the world. England furnished the French colonies with ne-

groes, and stocked the Spanish dominions by contract. It is stated on good authority, that England conveyed from Africa to America annually, more than one hundred thousand slaves. Anderson's History of Trade and Commerce, says, "England supplies her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to above one hundred thousand every year." Wilberforce, in parliament, reminded his countrymen, that they enjoyed the largest share of the guilty profits of the slave trade. Mr. Walsh thus sums up the extent and consequences of the English commerce in slaves. "If we state it (the annual import of slaves) in round numbers, at thirty thousand, we shall have, for the one hundred and six years, three millions one hundred and eighteen thousand negroes, imported *into the British possessions alone.* But to have the whole number which Great Britain obtained from Africa, we must bring into the account those whom she procured antecedent to the year 1680, and after the year 1786, those whom she imported directly into the foreign possessions under her contracts, and otherwise; and also those who perished on her hands on the coast of Africa, and in the transportation. The aggregate of her immediate prey must have exceeded six millions; and we may rate the direct mortality, for which she is answerable, at two millions, for the century of the trade, preceding the abolition." Such is the extent of the slave trade as prosecuted by England,—that England which reviles America, because two millions of slaves thus entailed upon her, live in comfort and content within her borders.

The cruelties perpetrated in such a traffic may be easier conceived than painted. But it may be remarked, that England was, in this also, equally pre-eminent. It was England that fomented the wars among the native tribes to procure slaves. It was England that numbered, among her chief exports to

Africa, spirits, rum, and brandy, guns, cutlasses, and ammunition. It was England that carried on the heartless commerce, with such merciless disregard of human life, that "sometimes a third or more perished on the passage."

The parliamentary report of 1789, on the slave trade, states, that of the slaves introduced into Jamaica, from 1655 to 1787, thirty-one thousand one hundred and eighty-one died in the harbour *from the noxious quality of the drugs employed in making them up for sale.*

A work on English commerce, entitled "Liverpool Memorandum," states, "that it may be presumed, that at a moderate computation of slaves, who are purchased by our African merchants in a year, near thirty thousand die upon the voyage and in the seasoning."

Mr. Wilberforce denounced the English slave-trade as "a scene of uniform, unadulterated, unsophisticated wickedness." Mr. Beaufoy, in the same debate said, "superstition herself is less obdurate, less persevering, less steadfast in her cruelty than this cool, reflecting, deliberate, remorseless commerce." Mr. Pitt said, he had no doubt that British arms were placed in the hands of the Africans to promote universal war and desolation. Mr. Fox observed, that "the acts of barbarity proved upon the slave captains in the course of the voyages, were so extraordinary, that they had been attributed to insanity." One case was narrated in which the captain of a British ship, in 1781, threw into the sea one hundred and thirty-two slaves *alive*, in order to defraud the underwriters. Another case was mentioned by Wilberforce, in which six English vessels anchored off an African town—agreed to fire on the town, to force the inhabitants to sell their slaves at a lower price. The cruelties of the pas-

sage appear to have combined the greatest amount of horrors. Mr. Walsh, in referring to the mortality induced by this and other causes, says, "it may be asserted with confidence, that the British trade caused immediately, during the two centuries of its legal prosecution, *the destruction of more negroes than have existed, altogether, in North America since the first settlement!*"*

As the awful atrocities committed by England in the prosecution of the slave trade are not, and cannot be denied nor palliated, the merit of its abolition is dwelt on with great triumph, as sufficient to efface the remembrance of all her former offences. It may be doubted, whether a nation is entitled to any peculiar credit or commendation for abstaining, after uninterrupted centuries of crime, from acts of open rapine. Still less is praise merited, if the reform tardily follows twenty years after a full conviction and appreciation of the guilt of the course pursued. But every lingering claim on our gratitude and respect is effaced, if it be discovered, that the act of justice was induced, not even by a cold and reluctant sense of duty, but by motives wholly sordid and interested.

In the year 1787, a few individuals, whose humanity has rendered their names illustrious, brought the subject of the slave trade before the English parliament. The facts in relation to the traffic were collected with incredible labour, and placed, in the strongest light, before the house. The cause was fortunate in obtaining the advocacy of several of the noblest spirits of the times; and was urged with all the force of reason and eloquence. Session after session the contest was renewed; but years came and passed, and the trade not only continued but

* It is estimated that more than twenty millions of Africans have been transported to America.

increased. At length, in 1807, after a twenty-years' war, a bill was passed providing for the abolition of the slave trade.

This result was obtained by the success of the abolitionists in convincing the people and parliament of the *inexpediency* of the commerce. A very extensive edition of Clarkson's Essay on the *Impolicy* of the Trade was published. In the debate, the advocates of abolition argued, that the trade was a disadvantage to England. They alleged, that it injured her commerce, restricted her manufactures, and ruined her seamen. They alleged also, that the islands were then well stocked with labourers; that additional importation would lessen the value of the slaves already obtained, and crowd the population of the island without benefit to the planter. They also urged, that the natural increase would now be adequate to support the number of the labouring population; and represented that a much more lucrative commerce with Africa might be substituted for the slave trade. These arguments prevailed, and the commerce was abolished.

Mr. Whitbread, in the final debate on the subject, complained that it was almost entirely *a cold calculation of profit and loss.* In the General Conference, held at Vienna, on the subject of the abolition of the slave trade. Lord Castlereagh communicated authentic documents, to prove that "abolition was particularly for the real advantage, and even indispensable for the security of the colonial countries." In 1807, Lord Lauderdale, when urging abolition upon the French government, was told, "that England, with her colonies well stocked with negroes, and affording a larger produce, might abolish the trade without inconvenience; but that France, with colonies ill-stocked, and deficient in produce, could not abolish it without conceding to England

the greatest advantages, and sustaining a proportionate loss." The Spanish minister, in answer to the same application, said to Lord Castlereagh: "If the Spanish colonies of America were, as to the supply of negroes, in the same state as the English colonies, his Catholic majesty would not hesitate a moment in decreeing immediate abolition; but the question having been before the British parliament from 1788 to 1807, the English traders and planters had full time to make extraordinary purchases of slaves; and, in fact, they did so. This was proved by the case of Jamaica, which in 1787 had only 250,000; whereas, at the period of the abolition, in 1807, she possessed 400,000." Mr. Wilberforce, as late as 1818, in urging a grant to Spain, in consideration of abolishing the trade, did it on the ground of the commercial advantages accruing to great Britain, by opening the continent of Africa to British industry. It is unnecessary to multiply proofs, that the English government, as it was induced by avarice to sanction the trade for centuries, was at length induced by the same motive, under a change of circumstances, to abolish it.

The reader has no doubt seen, in his time, men who have devoted the greenness and worth of their lives to profligacy; who have laughed at every restraint, overthrown and trampled upon every barrier which separated them from lawless enjoyment, and, in the pursuit of pleasure, or fortune, or both, have rushed madly into the most guilty and sordid excesses. He has perhaps seen these same men, when the chill of age came upon them—when their ears could no longer catch the tones of the syren voice, nor their benumbed flesh thrill to the touch of pleasure—when sin was stripped of its attraction, and the sinners incapable of gratification—smooth their faces into the demureness of sanctity, expend their ill-gotten gains in the erection of churches, and

essay to compensate, by the zeal of their piety, for its insincerity and selfishness. Such men are seen daily; but, though as remarkable for their intolerance as their zeal—though bitter in their denunciation of those vices which they cherished while they could, and those pleasures which they followed until they ceased to please—yet we have never found one so fortunate as to persuade the public to admire or respect that sanctity—

> "Which doth but skin and film the ulcerous part,
> Whiles rank corruption, mining all within,
> Infects unseen."

It remains to be seen, how far the world will respect the sincerity of a nation that surpassed all others in the slave traffic, until that traffic ceased to be profitable to her; and then, when constrained to reform, becomes outrageous in her sanctity, and abusive in her censures of others, even when the offences which she denounces, were, in fact, perpetrated, not by those whom she presumes to rebuke, *but by herself alone.*

It must not be supposed, because the government of Great Britain found it expedient to abolish the slave trade, that the English people abandoned it. On the contrary, the English themselves have afforded us ample proofs of the extent of their illicit commerce in slaves since the passage of the act of abolition.

The Report of the London African Institution, of 1809, states, that the slave merchants had succeeded in eluding the provisions of the act. The report of 1810 says:—"It has been discovered that, in defiance of all the penalties imposed by the act of Parliament, vessels under foreign flags have been fitted out in the ports of Liverpool and London, for the purpose of carrying slaves from Africa to the Spanish

and Portuguese settlements in America." The report proceeds to state, that persons of high consideration were implicated in this illicit traffic. The report of 1810 states, that "accounts from various quarters concur with certain judicial proceedings which have taken place in this country, to prove that a very considerable trade in slaves has been carried on of late, and a large portion of it by means of the capital and credit of British subjects." "There is *a large class* of contraband slave ships fitted out, chiefly in London or Liverpool, destined to the coast of Africa." The report of 1812 estimates the amount of this illicit commerce at from 70,000 to 80,000 slaves during the year 1810. The reports of 1813–14 reaffirm the same facts, and in addition, complain of a new branch of trade opened by the British between Egypt and Malta. It also describes the condition of the slaves in several of the new British conquests as wretched in the extreme; and while it denounces the slave trade on the north coast of Africa, complains of the exportation of British arms and gunpowder to that continent. In 1815, Mr. Barham stated in Parliament, that "it was a well known fact, that a large British capital was employed in British ships, in the slave trade." In 1818, Lord Castlereagh said, that "in *numberless* instances, he was sorry to say, it had come to his knowledge, that British subjects were indirectly and *largely* engaged in the slave trade." The report of the African Institution for 1815, affirmed that 20,000 negroes had been yearly smuggled into the English colonies. The commerce thus extensively but illicitly carried on, though checked by the recent act of abolition, is no doubt still prosecuted with the colonies of other European nations, and will probably be continued so long as it proves profitable. England, at least, will never be entitled to praise for its termination,

In the act referred to, by which slavery was abolished in the English colonies, we can see nothing inconsistent with the spirit always exhibited by the British government. Wholly unmindful, not only of the interests, but of the rights of her colonies, she has robbed them of a property, the legitimacy of which she recognised for centuries. She thrust—*forced* a slave population upon them, notwithstanding their remonstrances, and did so, not because she conceived such a population valuable to the colonies, but because the traffic was "beneficial to the mother country." Having exhausted this source of gain, and persuaded herself that her colonies would, if slavery were abolished, afford an outlet for her surplus population, she does not scruple to rifle her own subjects, throw the colonies into confusion, and endanger the lives, as she has violated the rights, of the planters of the West Indies. That this policy has been adopted under the momentary sway of ignorant fanaticism may be conceded; but fanaticism would never have controlled the policy of Britain, had it not appealed to her avarice, and, by captivating but hollow representations of the superiority of free labour, persuaded her that the measure would render the colonies more valuable to the mistress country. The profits realized by Great Britain in the slave trade may well enable her to afford a few millions of compensation to the plundered planters, and the increased revenue expected from the colonies will, it is expected, amply justify this investment. Great Britain has not, however, upon all occasions, found her system of colonial wrong and exaction to answer her expectations. The time has not yet arrived to write the history of West India abolition, but the system has sufficiently developed itself to enable us to predict, with confidence, loss to the mother country—ruin to the colonies.

CHAPTER VII.

Condition of Slaves in the United States.

THE extent of slavery in the different slave-holding states of this union, may be seen by the following table, digested from the census of 1830.

	Whites.	Free col'd.	Slaves.	Total col'd.	Total.
Maryland,	291,093	52,912	102,873	155,820	446,913
Virginia,	694,270	47,348	469,757	517,105	1,211,375
North Carolina,	472,843	19,543	245,601	265,444	737,987
South Carolina,	257,863	7,921	315,401	323,322	518,185
Georgia,	296,806	2,486	217,531	220,017	516,823
Alabama, North,	81,173	422	44,130	44,552	125,725
Alabama, South,	109,233	1,150	73,419	74,569	183,802
Mississippi,	114,795	569	25,091	25,660	140,455
Kentucky,	517,787	4,917	165,213	170,130	687,917
Louisiana,	89,291	16,710	109,588	126,298	215,589
Tennessee,	535,748	4,555	141,603	146,158	681,906
Missouri,	114,795	569	25,091	25,660	140,455
District of Columbia,	27,647	6,093	6,058	12,151	39,868
——— Missouri,					
——— Arkansaw,	25,671	141	4,576	4,717	30,388
——— Florida,	18,375	844	15,501	16,345	34,720

The states in which slavery prevails, have been distinguished for their affluence. Notwithstanding the policy of the national government has borne heavily upon the South, notwithstanding the occasional depression of her staples, and the proverbially unfortunate pecuniary habits of her citizens, that portion of the union may still be regarded as pecu-

liarly favoured. The slave-labour of the South has thus far practically disproved the theories of the North; and demonstrated that the institution of slavery, whatever objections may be alleged against it, is not calculated to diminish the national wealth, or retard the national prosperity. It will be seen hereafter, that the South pays nearly one-third of the revenue of the government; and of the one hundred millions of dollars annual exports sent from the country, *nine-tenths are raised by the South.* Of the productiveness of slave-labour, who can, after a knowledge of these facts, affect a doubt? The North, as well as the South, is enriched by that labour; and should any disastrous occurrences disturb the institutions of the South, not only the whites and negroes of the slave-holding states would sink into poverty and suffering, but the decayed manufactures, shrunken commerce, and ruined prosperity of the North, would show how near and vital is the connexion of the different sections of our common country.

Every country must have its labourers, men who are willing to be directed by the mind and capital of others, and to undergo, in consideration of support, the physical toil requisite for the attainment of the goods of life. In the North, this labour is done by the poor; in the South, by the negro. In both, the labourer is forced to endure the privations of his condition in life. In the North, not only is his toil severe, but poverty and anxiety attend him in his humble path in life. His family must be sustained; his wife attended in sickness; his children supported in youth. His means are often inadequate to his wants. He is bowed down by the consciousness of inequality, and haunted by the fear of the prison. Incertitude and anxiety are with him each hour of his life; and when sickness or age steals upon him, it often finds him without resources or hope. Thus is he dogged through life by poverty,

fear, humiliation and oppression (for the title of freeman does not protect the poor from oppression) and dies with the unhappy consciousness that for his children is reserved the same lot of wretchedness. The labourer of the South knows none of these evils. He is scarcely acquainted with the meaning of the word care. He never suffers from inordinate labour—he never sickens from unwholesome food. No fear of want disturbs his slumbers. Hunger and cold are strangers to him; and in sickness or age he knows that he has a protector and a friend able and willing to shield him from suffering. His pleasures are such as his nature enjoys, and are unrestricted. He enjoys all the privileges which his simple heart craves, and which are wholesome for him. Thus protected from all the other has to fear, and secured in the enjoyment of all he desires—he is as happy as circumstances can render him.

We are aware that certain pseudo philanthropists affect great concern for the benighted state of the negro, and condemn the enactments which, in some of the states, discourage his education. We may be permitted to remark, that, but for the intrusive and intriguing interference of pragmatical fanatics, such precautionary enactments would never have been necessary. When such foes are abroad, industrious in scattering the seeds of insurrection, it becomes necessary to close every avenue by which they may operate upon the slaves. It becomes necessary to check or turn aside the stream, which instead of flowing healthfully upon the negro, is polluted and poisoned by the abolitionists, and rendered the source of discontent and excitement Education, thus perverted, would become equally dangerous to the master and the slave: and while fanaticism continue, its war upon the South, the measures of necessary precaution and defence must be continued.

The situation of the slave is, in every particular,

incompatible with the cultivation of his mind. It would not only unfit him for his station in life, and prepare him for insurrection, but would be found wholly impracticable in the performance of the duties of a labourer. However, those who regard the absence of education in the negro with such peculiar compassion, would do well to assure themselves that the free blacks of the North, and even a large class of the white labourers, are, in this particular, superior to him. The charity of these fanatics is generally of so expanded and ambitious a character, that it overlooks worthy objects of benevolence at their feet, to light upon some scheme of thwart and ill-omened philanthropy abroad.

The absence of science is no misfortune to the slave. He is averse to study; and, with every advantage, seldom makes sufficient progress to render education a source of pleasure or profit to him. Inert and unintellectual, he exhibits no craving for knowledge; and prefers, in his hours of recreation, indulgence in his rustic pleasures to the pursuit of intellectual improvement. It has been a question, whether the pains or enjoyments of a cultivated mind preponderate. The extended expanse of the mind, if it is opened to more of the sunshine of heaven, is exposed also to more of its gloom; and as, in this life, our sky is more frequently clouded than clear, the prerogative, however ennobling, is perhaps a source of more anxiety than enjoyment. Be this as it may, the negro never suffers from the thirst for knowledge. Voluptuous and indolent, he knows few but animal pleasures; is incapable of appreciating the pride and pleasure of conscious intellectual refinement; and passes through existence, perhaps with few of the white man's mental enjoyments, but certainly with still fewer of his harassing cares and anxieties. The dance beneath the

shade surpasses, for him, the groves of the academy; and the simple tones of the banjo have charms which even the lyre of Phœbus could not rival.

Misguided or malevolent writers have endeavoured to produce an impression in the North that the slaves of the South are debarred the privilege of public worship. So far is this statement from being based on truth, that it may be doubted whether the free blacks in the North, under the immediate wing of the abolitionists, enjoy the same religious advantages, or profit by them to the same extent. Clergymen are encouraged by the citizens of the Southern states to visit and preach to their slaves; and the cause of religion was, and unless the mad course of the abolitionists has checked it, still is, rapidly advancing in the South. The clergy of the South are equally distinguished for their zeal and ability; and labour, with commendable activity, in the vineyard thus opened to them. The absence of all temporal cares in the mind of the slave, fits him to receive religious impressions; and may, perhaps, account for the success of the ministry in their efforts among that portion of our population. Of the numerous and exemplary clergy of the South, not a man can be found willing to sanction the course of the Northern fanatics, to represent the condition of the slaves in an unfavourable light, or to breathe a word to countenance the calumnies of the abolitionists. They imitate the example of our blessed Saviour, who, instead of preaching abolition to the slaves, went among them breathing the spirit of humility and peace, and directing them to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." When the *soi disant* philanthropists do likewise, they will cease to be objects of alarm and abhorrence to the people whose tranquillity they have so recklessly endangered.

Since the recent manifestations of a determination

on the part of the abolitionists to break up the fountains of the great deep of public order—to throw the whole organization of southern society into chaos—light the torch of rapine and whet the knife of murder—it has become necessary for the South to guard, with sleepless vigilance, every channel through which their poison might be disseminated. Some of the fanatics, more mutinous than their brethren, have visited the South, in the abused character of clergymen, and brought reproach upon the holy office, by using it for the worst purposes. These reverend preachers of insurrection and murder have excited some distrust at the South; and the planters are wisely determined to be more careful hereafter. Wandering vagabonds will therefore find it difficult to approach and poison the minds of the slaves in clerical costume; or, should they succeed, will probably discover, to their surprise, that the crime of inciting the ignorant negro to murder, is punished at the South quite as summarily and severely, when committed in a black coat, as in one of a less reverend and awe-exciting hue. But however watchful necessity may render the Southron, the respectable and pure-hearted clergyman will always receive from him, in the performance of his holy duties among the slave population, protection, encouragement and support. Christianity truly taught and sincerely cherished, cannot fail to render the slave population more tranquil and happy in themselves, and more valuable to their masters. Had the planter, therefore, no higher motive, his own obvious interests would constrain him to encourage and aid the means by which his slaves are rendered quiet, moral, and industrious.

The slaves of the South are protected from abuse or wrong by liberal laws, justly administered. Improper punishment, under-feeding or over-working,

are prevented by enactments, which, should any master incur their penalties, effectually vindicate the cause of justice. The laws protect the slave as fully as the white man: they go further, and, as the slave is supposed to be completely dependent upon his master, they require that he should be supplied with the necessaries and comforts of his station, and treated with unvarying kindness. In some of the states it has, indeed, been necessary to pass rigid police laws to protect the country from insurrections; but these laws remain a dead letter, until the interference of insidious and evil men excites and stirs up the slaves, and renders caution and severity indispensable for the safety of the master. When abolitionists make the application of these laws necessary, it is they, and they alone, who are the authors of the restraint placed upon the slaves.

The slave-holders of this country have always been celebrated for their kindness to their dependants. The following passages in Beverley's History of Virginia, dated 1720, shows the manner in which, even at that early period, the slaves were treated. "It hath been so represented to the common people of England, as to make them believe that the servants in Virginia are made to draw in carts, and plough as the oxen do in England, and that the country turns all people black who go to live there; with other such prodigious phantasms." "I can assure, with great truth, that, generally, the slaves in Virginia are not worked near so hard, nor so many hours in a day as the husbandmen and day-labourers in England; and that no people more abhor the thoughts of cruel usage to servants than do Virginians." The treatment of slaves in this country, always lenient, has improved since the revolution. The apprehensions which existed while the slave trade poured its thousands upon our shores, have

been removed by its abolition; the whites also have become more numerous, and bear a much larger proportion to the slaves; and a sense of security is the consequence, which has operated greatly to soften the system of the master, and ameliorate the condition of the slave. The division of the negro population into smaller masses, has, by bringing them nearer to the master, connected them with his family associations and feelings; while the advance of liberal and humane feelings has given to the relation of master and slave often the most affectionate character. The editor of the Encyclopœdia Americana, remarks, "We believe it is generally admitted that the slave is nowhere better treated than in the slave-holding states of this union." Mr. Walsh, in his Appeal, gives the following description of the treatment of slaves in the South. "The master who would deprive his negro of his *peculium*—the produce of his poultry-house, or his little garden; who should force him to work on holidays or at night; who should deny him the common recreations, or leave him without shelter or provision in his old age, would incur the aversion of the community, and raise obstacles to the advancement of his own interest and external aims."

The same author says, "American negro-slavery is almost wholly free from two of the grievances which characterize that of the West Indies—*under feeding and over working*. With regard to the great article of food, the American negroes are, assuredly, better supplied than the free labourers of most parts of Europe. Flesh meat is not attainable for the latter in the same quantity which is commonly given to the first; it would seem not to be attainable at all for the poorer classes of Great Britain and Ireland. In respect to clothing and lodging, the comparison would give nearly the same result.

On the score of fuel, the want of which occasions so much suffering in particular counties of Great Britain, and, as to the point of labour, also, the advantage is greatly on the side of the American negro. I cannot here enter into the details of the system, upon which they are worked on the Southern plantations; but I can say of it, that it involves nothing like the same intensity, duration, or continuity of exertion, which would appear to be indispensable in Great Britain, in almost all the lower walks of mechanical industry, for the mere support of animal life."

Professor Dew, from whose invaluable work on this subject we have already quoted, speaks as follows of the usage of the slaves:—"In the debate in the Virginia legislature, no speaker *insinuated* even, we believe, that the slaves in Virginia were not treated kindly; and all, too, agreed that they were most abundantly fed; and we have no doubt but that they form the happiest portion of our society. A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe, than the negro slave of the United States. Even Captain Hall himself, with his 'thick crust of prejudice,' is obliged to allow that they are happy and contented, and the master much less cruel than is generally imagined."

Mr. Dew remarks that we are all too prone to make *self* the standard by which we measure the condition of the slaves; and adds, with equal justice and eloquence:—"We might rather die than be the obscure slave that waits at our back—our education and our habits generate an ambition that makes us aspire at something loftier—and disposes us to look upon the slave as unsusceptible of happiness in his humble sphere, when he may indeed be much happier than we are, and have his ambition too; but his ambition is to excel all his other slaves in the per-

formance of his servile duties—to please and gratify his master—and to command the praise of all who witness his exertions. Let the wily philanthropist but come and whisper into the ear of such a slave that his situation is degrading and his lot a miserable one—let him but light up the dungeon in which he persuades the slave that he is caged—and that moment, like the serpent that entered the garden of Eden, he destroys his happiness and his usefulness."

We add the following testimony of T. Flint, Esq., a gifted native of New England, and from education, habit, and feeling, averse to the institution of slavery. Of the fidelity of his statements, no one, we flatter ourselves, will hazard a doubt. His opportunities for acquiring, from personal observation, a knowledge of slavery, have been unlimited; and from his established reputation as a sagacious and accurate observer, and a writer of ability and character, his authority must be regarded as entitled to great consideration.

"We can pronounce, from what we consider a thorough knowledge of the subject, that the condition of the slaves here,* the treatment which they receive, and the character of their masters, have been much misrepresented in the non-slave-holding states. We pretend to none but historical knowledge of the state of things which has existed here in past time. At present, we are persuaded, there are but few of those brutal and cruel masters which the greatest portion of the planters were formerly supposed to be. The masters now study popularity with their slaves.—There is now no part of the slave-holding country in the Southwest, where it would not be a deep stain on the moral character to

* In Louisiana, one of the most rigid states, in the government of her slaves, in the Union.

be generally reputed a cruel master. In many plantations no punishment is inflicted except after a trial by a jury, composed of the fellow servants of the party accused. Festival prizes and rewards are instituted, as stimulants to exertion, and compensations for superior accomplishments of labour. They are generally well fed, and well clothed, and that not by an arbitrary award, which might vary with the feelings of the master, but by a periodical apportionment, like the distributed rations of soldiers, of what has been experimented to be sufficient to render them comfortable. Considerable attention is paid to their quarters, and most of them comfortably lodged and housed. Nor are they destitute, as has been supposed, of any legal protection coming between them and the cupidity and cruelty of their masters. The *code noir* of Louisiana is a curious collection of statutes, drawn partly from French and Spanish law and usage, and partly from the customs of the islands, and usages which have grown out of the peculiar circumstances of Louisiana while a colony. It has the aspect, it must be admitted, of being formed rather for the advantage of the master than the servant, for it prescribes an unlimited homage and obedience to the former. It makes a misdemeanor on his part towards his master a very different offence from a wanton abuse of power towards the servant.* But, at the same time, it defines crimes that the master can commit in relation to the slave: and prescribes the mode of trial, and the kind and degree of punishment. It constitutes unnecessary correction, maiming, and murder, punishable offences in the master. It is very minute in prescribing the number of hours which the master

* Such a distinction is prompted by the dangers arising from the peculiar position of the slave, and the necessity of greater restraint and security.

may lawfully exact to be employed in labour, and the number of hours which he must allow his slave for meal-times and for rest. It prescribes the time and extent of his holidays. In short, it settles with minuteness and detail, the whole circle of relations between master and slave, defining and prescribing what the former may, and may not, exact of the latter. Yet after all these minute provisions, the slave finds the chief alleviation of his hard condition, and his best security against cruel treatment, and his most valid bond for kind and proper deportment towards him, in the increasing light, humanity and force of public opinion. *That the slave is in the general circumstances of his condition, as happy as this relation will admit of his being,* IS AN UNQUESTIONABLE FACT."*

* It can scarcely be necessary to swell the evidences of a fact, which every intelligent and candid man who has inspected for himself the domestic relations of the Southern planter, will readily admit. We will, however, add the following. Mr. Noah, of New York, remarks, in relation to the slave population of the South: "We speak advisedly, for we have studied the condition of the whites and blacks minutely, and can freely say, that we would infinitely prefer to be a black slave in Carolina, or Virginia, or Cuba, or Barbadoes, to the emaciated and haggard wretches who people the workshops of Birmingham and Manchester, or the poor, shiftless, dissolute free negroes who live in our Northern states." The able editor of the Courier and Enquirer, thus describes the slaves of the South, before the "pernicious labours of the abolitionist destroyed the confidence of the master, and with it, the comfort of the slave." "We speak from our own experience, when we say, they were the gayest, the most contented, and the most comfortable race of labouring people that ever came under our observation; for, as to the pictures and representations which the abolitionists are daily putting forth, of chains, stripes, oppression, and cruelty, we pronounce them wilful and malicious falsehoods, invented to impose upon the world, and stimulate the slaves to insurrection and murder."

Were there no other evidences of the kindness with which the Southern slaves are treated, and the comfort in which they live, it would be sufficient to direct the attention of the reader to the rapidity of their increase. This, at least, is a proof of the prosperous state of the negro, which will not be contested. In the British West Indies, the slave population has required, it is said, renewal every fifteen years: in this country, the natural increase is nearly equal to that of the whites. In England and Wales, the population has nearly doubled in the last hundred years; one fourth of that time is sufficient for the duplication of our Southern negroes. These facts will not be denied, and cannot be explained away. They demonstrate that the condition of the American negro is, at least, not one of physical suffering.

In conclusion, we may remark, that there is reason to doubt whether any country comprises a labouring people better clothed, fed and treated than the slave population of the South—a population with less discontent and fewer causes calculated to excite it. Their intellectual inferiority, the absence of ambition in their character, their improvidence and want of a master to direct and sustain them, and the peculiar adaptation of their physical constitution to labour in a Southern climate, all combine to render their present the best possible condition in which they can be placed; while the kindness and attention of their masters make that condition still more comfortable and happy. It is an error to suppose that the blacks do not regard the kindness of their masters with gratitude and affection. They look up to their liberal and generous masters, and their amiable mistresses, with a feeling absolutely fond and filial. They take pleasure in repaying their care with every service in their power; and, instead of desiring an opportunity to dissolve the

connexion between them, would, in many cases, be found ready to die in defence of the families in which they are so kindly protected and cherished. With these views of the Southern population, how sinister and fiendlike appears that intermeddling spirit which seeks to render the poor slave discontented—to transform his nature into that of a revengeful and sanguinary demon, thirsting for the blood of his protectors, anxious to redden the skies of his clime with the glare of conflagration, and dye the soil he has so long and peacefully tilled with the hue of murder. Is it strange that the proceedings of such men are regarded, by every reflecting and benevolent mind, with horror?*

* "In this country it has been argued," said the Rev. Mr. Tracy, in a sermon before the Vermont Colonization Society, "that the world belongs to all men equally, and labour belongs to those who perform it, are conclusions as inevitable, as that a man's right hand is his own." And on these grounds, a convention was proposed and publicly urged in the state of New York, in the year 1830, which should order,

An immediate abolition of all debts;

An inventory of all real and personal property within the state;

A census of all the inhabitants, white or black;

An equal division of all the property, real and personal, among such citizens indiscriminately, as have arrived at the age of eighteen, without regard to colour;

An apportionment of a full share to every citizen, as he shall hereafter arrive at the age of eighteen;

The abolition of all interest on money, and the right of making wills.

Do you say, there is no danger that men will reason thus? I answer, men *have* thus reasoned, and been confident in their reasonings. They have published them, with the intention of inducing nations to adopt them. The party, from one of whose organs the last extract was taken, proposed to have 20,000 followers in the city of New York alone, and nominated its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

CHAPTER VIII.

Slavery considered.—The right of man to hold his fellow-man in bondage.

With all the clamour made by the abolitionists, in relation to "free discussion," there is nothing which they so studiously avoid. They seldom, if ever, resort to candid or manly argument. They appeal to settled prejudices; and, by applying abstract but cherished axioms, without reference to consequences, they urge a course which could never bear the test of cool and practical examination. It is the misfortune of our country that we reason from abstractions. We establish the principle that all men are created free and equal; and following it out, without regard to consequences, often infer that a community of goods is required by a rigid respect for the rights of man. It was this delusion, this proneness to rush recklessly on in the course marked out by some dreamy abstraction, which plunged revolutionary France into the reign of terror. Her principles were generally sound; but pushed to extremes, and followed without regard to practical results, they led to consequences at which the world even now turns pale. It was the prevalence of the spirit alluded to, which induced the French policy towards St. Domingo; and not only lost that colony to France and to the world, but rendered it a Phlegethon, in which evil spirits held, for years, their carnival of blood. Let our people profit by their

experience. Let them rely rather on common sense, practically applied, than on the misty abstractions of fanatical enthusiasts.

It should be distinctly understood, that while the South acknowledges no accountability to any power under heaven for her course or sentiments on the subject of slavery, she freely avows her conviction of her right to hold the negroes in bondage, and her persuasion that the domestic slavery of that section of our country, is not a moral or political evil. These sentiments are the result of a full and general investigation of the subject: and were the people of the North equally well acquainted with it, they would probably subscribe to the opinions of the South. The original importation of the African is regarded by us as a moral wrong, because associated with acts of violence and cruelty, which nothing can justify. But of the justice, necessity, and advantages of the institution, as now entailed upon the South, we cannot, after an examination of the subject, feel a doubt. To the negro himself, we consider it no calamity. He is happier here than on the shores of his own degraded, savage, and most unhappy country—or rather the country of his fathers. He is happier, also, as a slave, than he could be as a freeman. This is the result of the peculiarities of his character; and will, we trust, be demonstrated in the course of this work to the satisfaction of the reader. It may be said that the slave-holders have no right to constitute themselves the tribunal for the decision of this question. If we do not judge for ourselves, of the propriety of our own conduct, who shall judge for us? But were we, or rather the people of the South, not immediately interested in the determination of the question, the ignorance, childlike simplicity and acknowledged incapacity of the blacks, would justify their masters in deciding

on the course which their welfare, as well as that of the whites, rendered necessary.

The abolitionists deny the right of the people of the South, under any circumstances, to hold their fellow men in bondage. Upon what grounds is this position assumed? If the master is guilty of a wrong, it becomes his accusers to give some evidence of his crime. It is their duty to prove that an institution, which has existed almost from the creation of the world to the present time, which has been encouraged by the best men of the most enlightened ages, and which has met the sanction of the Highest —has become, since these moral luminaries arose upon the world, guilty and calamitous. It will be found difficult to obtain a direct and rational answer to so plain a demand. They deal wholly in rhetorical flourishes; and if they reply at all, will tell us that the negro slave should not be a slave, because "he was created free." The fact is exactly the reverse. He comes into the world a slave. Nay, we might go further, and assert that nature, in her earliest developments, exhibits the necessity of reciprocal command and protection. We are all, in early life, slaves; the laws of necessity and nature, as well as those of the land, constitute us bond, and we remain so until we have passed through nearly one-third of our earthly pilgrimage. Who, then, will pretend to assert that the negro should not be a slave because he is born free? But they tell us— "it is the will of God that he should be free." It is somewhat strange, that the will of God, in this point, has never been expressed until it came from the oracular mouths of the abolitionists. Such manifestations of the divine will never took place among the Jews, where slavery was universal, nor among the nations to which the disciples of our Saviour preached—nations which were overrun with slaves.

The will and desire of God is the welfare of the species. If negro slavery in the South be inconsistent with the happiness of the human family, the argument may apply: but if, as we confidently assert, its existence is not at war with the well-being of the greatest number of those interested, it is wholly justifiable. And if, to go one step further, the measures of abolition, projected by the fanatics, are calculated to result in consequences calamitous to the race, they are, notwithstanding their ostentatious and obtrusive piety, guilty, in the face of heaven and earth, of crimes of the darkest and deepest crimson.

The phrase which occurs in the Declaration of American Independence—"all men are created free and equal"—is perpetually upon the lips of the abolitionist, to sanction his violation of the rights of the South. The following extract from a speech, delivered at the late public meeting in Philadelphia, by Mr. J. R. Burden, formerly Speaker of the Senate, and an early, fervent, and fearless advocate of the rights of the slave-holder, admirably illustrates the perversion and desecration of that celebrated sentence of Jefferson.

"On the 4th of July, 1776, in the immediate neighbourhood of this place, the Declaration of Independence was made. From it the advocates of black emancipation take their text, 'All men are created free and equal,' &c. The construction they put upon it is unlimited. Let us examine the subject carefully. Did the framers of the Declaration, the representatives of the people, intend to declare that domestic slavery was incompatible with the freedom of the colonies? If they did not, their words are of no use in the defence of negro emancipation. If they did, *why were not all the slaves then emancipated?*

"In 1781, the 'Articles of Confederation' were ratified. Domestic slavery still existed. Why did it exist, if the construction of the abolitionists be correct?

"The people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union and secure the blessings of liberty, established the constitution in 1787. Domestic slavery still existed. No constitution could have been formed, had emancipation been persisted in. No union could have been perfected, if theorists and dreamers had determined to deprive the slaveholding states of their property.

"The constitution was adopted; the union was established; the world looked on it with admiration; yet it did not prohibit domestic slavery. So far from it, one of its main features, that of representation, was based upon it. Further, it declared that the *traffic should not be prohibited* by Congress prior to the year 1808. Perhaps the framers of the constitution thought that, by that period, the increased population of the blacks, would supersede the necessity of importation.

"We hear, in our day, much prating about liberty and philanthropy. The signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the framers of the constitution, were quite as conversant with the rights of man, as the best of us; they had as much philanthropy; and, if you will have it, as much Christianity as we profess to have. They possessed the confidence of the people, and deserved it; they passed through the times that tried men's souls; and, without the fear, favour, or affection of power, but in the spirit of virtue, wisdom, and patriotism, perfected a union as imperishable as the globe we inhabit. Shall it be said that such men put a blot and a stain upon our country?—So much for the text of emancipation!"

We have already shown, that slavery originated in the practice of sparing and enslaving captives taken in war. Judge Blackstone, whose argument on this subject is triumphantly cited by the abolitionists, denies the right to make prisoners of war slaves; for, he says, we have no right to enslave, unless we had the right to kill; and we had no right to kill, unless "in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence; and it is plain this absolute necessity did not subsist, since the victor did not actually kill him, but made him prisoner." (See chap. 6, on Civil Government.) Professor Dew, in his work on slavery, furnishes the following conclusive refutation of Blackstone's position. "Upon this we proceed to remark:—1st. That Judge Blackstone here speaks of slavery in its pure unmitigated form, whereby an unlimited power is given to the master over the life and fortune of the slave. Slavery scarcely exists any where in this form, and if it did, it would be a continuance of a state of war, as Rosseau justly observes, between the captive and the captor. Again: Blackstone, in his argument on this subject, seems to misunderstand the grounds upon which civilians place the justification of slavery, as arising from the laws of war. It is well known, that most of the horrors of war spring from the principle of retaliation, and not, as Blackstone supposes, universally from 'absolute necessity.'"

It seems, that almost every distinguished writer on the *jus gentium*, has admitted the justice of slavery, under certain circumstances. Grotius says that, as the law of nature permits prisoners of war to be killed, so the same law has introduced the right of making them slaves, that the captors, in view of the benefits arising from the labour or sale of their prisoners, might be induced to spare them. Puffendorf speaks of slavery as established "by the

free consent of the opposing parties." Rutherford, in his Institutes, says, "the law of nations will allow those who are prisoners to be made slaves by the nation which takes them." Other authors confirm the same rule.—Vattel asks, "are prisoners of war to be made slaves?" and answers, "yes; in cases which give a right to kill them." Locke says, "he, to whom a prisoner has forfeited his life, may, when he has him in his power, delay to take it, and make use of him to his own service, and he does him no injury by it."

But whatever may have been the origin of slavery in this country, or the grounds on which it was justified, it has, in its present state, in the recognition of the laws, in the practice of centuries, in the support afforded to the slave in infancy and weakness, in the peculiarities of his race and position, and in the necessities arising from them; in the impracticability of legal or peaceful abolition, and in the great advantages arising to the states, in which it exists, to the nation at large, to the slaves themselves, and to the whites—a sanction more potential and conclusive than the *dicta* of philosophers.

The abolitionist, who is fired at the thought of the negro in contented and comfortable bondage, scruples not, should his debtor, sinking under the heavy hand of poverty, fail to pay his claim, to seize and consign him to a jail. Here, debarred from common food and common air—the damp straw his couch, the mouldering and filth-mantled prison walls his home, abandoned to suffering, horror, and infamy, he may weep over the fate of his lone and helpless wife and little ones—and admire the philanthropy of the abolitionist! Such things are of daily occurrence. Has the abolitionist then no compassion for the white slave? Does he think it justifiable to inflict upon him cruelties which the negro never fears

and never suffers? He will answer that the white man incurred an obligation to pay him. Does the negro incur no such obligation in return for the abundance provided him by his master? He will urge that the laws of the land sanction it. And has the South no laws, or are their laws alone to be despised and trampled on? But he will persist—the white man is not held for life. In certain cases *he is* held for life, condemned to respire only in the loathsome atmosphere of a dungeon; and if he sees at all the blessed sky, to gaze at it, with a pallid cheek and an aching heart, through the grates of that perpetual prison to which his white brother—perchance an abolitionist—a pious philanthropist, who expends tens of thousands to excite the happy negro to discontent and murder—has condemned him for the crime of poverty!—Such things may occur, even at the enlightened and sanctimonious North and East. The poor white slave may thus live—perish thus——and who tells him that his slavery is unlawful, an offence against God, or bids him destroy his jailor and set himself free?

The laws of every community justify a certain state of domestic bondage. The child is, to a certain extent, the slave of his father, the servant or the apprentice of his master. True, the master is restricted by law; and he can neither punish unnecessarily, nor use those, whose care is entrusted with him, with cruelty or neglect. But is not the slaveholder of the South equally controlled? Is not the slave equally protected? If the law is justified in the sanction of slavery, for the undoubted benefit of society and of those concerned, for a term of ten or fifteen years, why not of twenty, or fifty, or an hundred? The welfare of society is the object of both species of servitude; both are sanctioned by national law, and both must be continued.

CHAPTER IX.

Slavery considered in continuation—Sanctioned by the Old and New Testaments, and accordant with the precepts and spirit of Christianity.

The scheme of abolition had its origin in religious fanaticism; and is still urged on religious grounds. Religious feelings and prejudices are invoked in its favour; religious periodicals are enlisted in its support; and even religious persecution has been already used to aid and urge its advance. These measures have, it is feared, deceived some, who have not examined this subject, into a belief that slavery is inconsistent with religion; and good, but weak men, have thus been induced to lend their names to one of the most sanguinary schemes which ever borrowed the cloak of religion to conceal the purpose and perpetration of crime. To such it may be well to mention, that the whole clergy of the South, certainly not inferior, in any particular, to their brethren in any part of the world, lend their express sanction to slavery. If inconsistent with the letter or spirit of Christianity, if cruel or oppressive, could they be thus induced unanimously to approve and countenance it? Such an imputation on their purity and holiness cannot for a moment be cherished.

We will, however, proceed by quotations from Scripture, to prove that slavery, so far from being irreconcilable to religion, is fully sanctioned by the clear and unequivocal expression of the divine will.

Immediately after the deluge, Noah, an inspired prophet, pronounced the following curse upon the posterity of Ham, from whom the African race is supposed to have sprung:—"Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethen. And he said, blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27. Thus when there was but one family on the face of the earth, a portion of that family was doomed to be slaves to the others.

In the covenant made by God with Abraham, the patriarch is directed to ratify it with the ceremonial of circumcision. Among those included in the covenant, were slaves. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." Gen. xvii. 13. In the 27th verse of the same chapter, we are informed that this direction was obeyed: "And all the men of his house, born in the house, and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him." From these passages, it is evident that slavery existed in the time of Abraham; that the patriarch was himself a slave-holder; that his slaves were not captives in war, nor convicts of crime, but "bought with money, of the stranger;" that Abraham, notwithstanding that he was a slave-holder, was the chosen of God among the families of the earth; and that God, in making the covenant, mentions the slaves, and impliedly sanctions their bondage.

After this time, the patriarch increased his stock of slaves. In Gen. xx. 14, it is said, "And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and men servants and women servants, and gave them unto Abraham." In a subsequent chapter, a servant of Abraham says, "And the Lord hath blessed my master greatly, and

he is become great: and he hath given him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men servants and maid servants, and camels and asses." Gen. xxiv. 35. Jacob also, Gen. xxx. 43, is spoken of as follows: "And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid servants and men servants, and camels and asses." There is but little doubt, notwithstanding the Lord frequently declares himself "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," that all those holy and faithful patriarchs were slaveholders; and that men servants and maid servants constituted a large constituent in the wealth, which the favour of Providence conferred upon them.

The book of Exodus furnishes many conclusive evidences of the direct sanction of slavery. In the 12th chapter, a distinction is made between hired servants and slaves, the latter being entitled to the benefit of the covenant, the former excluded. "But every man servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. A foreigner and a hired servant shall not eat thereof." See verses 44 and 45. The following passages recognize slavery in the most distinct manner; and refer to slaves as property. "And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: *for he is his money.*" The whole chapter abounds in evidence of the existence of slavery, in some cases limited in duration, in others perpetual.

In Leviticus, the subject is still further elucidated. The following passages, from the 25th chapter, give a full account of slavery among the Jews, as regulated by the ordinances of God. "And if thy brother, that dwelleth by thee, be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve

as a bond servant: but as a hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of the jubilee: and then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God. Both thy bondmen and the bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever; but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour."

From these passages, it appears that the divine code discouraged the holding of the children of Israel as slaves; and, when they fell into bondage, secured them certain privileges, in consideration of their being members of the favoured nation. But a policy wholly different is directed towards foreigners or the descendants of foreigners. The Jews are not merely permitted but directed to procure from them slaves—"of them *shall ye* buy bondmen and bondmaids." The "strangers" occupied towards the Jews the relative position which the Africans bear towards us, except that they were not, like the Africans, separated by the hand of nature from their masters, and from difference in colour and inferiority of character, rendered incapable of

equality and amalgamation. It also appears by the passage quoted, that God directly sanctioned the purchase and sale of slaves—"of them shall ye BUY"—and regards them as a "*possession.*" The term of bondage, sanctioned by Heaven, was perpetual "*for ever;*" and the slaves are directed to be held "*as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever.*" It is impossible to conceive or express a sanction of slavery, as it exists in this country, more full, unequivocal and conclusive.

The decalogue contains several allusions to slavery, accompanied by an implied sanction of the institution. The Fourth Commandment provides for an exemption from labour in favour of the "man servant and maid servant.;" and the Tenth Commandment prohibits the coveting a neighbour's "man servant or maid servant." In Samuel, xxv. 10, there is reference to the existence of slavery, and to the escape of slaves from their masters—"there be many servants now-a-days that break away every man from his master." In the 4th and 5th chapters of Nehemiah, the existence of slavery is mentioned; and David, the man after God's own heart, thus refers to slavery to illustrate the fervour of his adoration:—"As the eyes of servants look unto the hands of their master, and the eyes of a maiden to her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God." Solomon says, "The king's favour is towards a wise servant;" and thus sanctions domestic discipline, "a servant will not be corrected by words." Job, "a perfect and an upright man," sighs, in his afflictions, for that grave, where, he pathetically says, "the prisoners rest together, and the slave is free from his master:" intimating that the slave was not free until death.

Having proved by various passages from the Old Testament, that slavery not only existed among the Jews, but received the direct sanction of God, we might ask the advocates of abolition to prove, that, under the Christian dispensation, this sanction was ever withdrawn. But we will not wait for the performance of an impossibility, but proceed to show that the same sanction was renewed by our Saviour and his disciples.*

At the period of the advent of Christ, slavery prevailed throughout the world. In that portion of Asia, in which Christianity was first preached, it existed in its severest form, and to a very great extent. Had it been regarded as an evil, it could not have escaped the animadversion, not only of Christ, but of all the holy men who became, at his departure, the preachers of his faith. A subject so nearly connected with the happiness of the mass of mankind, could not have escaped, and did not escape, their attention: and, had it not possessed their approbation, must have been condemned. Instead of this, however, we find the institution sanctioned, slaveholders admitted into the bosom of the church, and slaves admonished to humility and obedience. "The apostles," (says a citizen of Georgia, the author of a valuable pamphlet on this subject, entitled, *Remarks*

* If it be meant that in the Christian religion there is a special denunciation against slavery—that slavery and Christianity cannot exist together—I think the honourable gentleman must himself admit that the proposition is historically false.

One peculiar characteristic of the Christian dispensation, if I must venture in this place upon such a theme, is, that it has accommodated itself to all states of society, rather than that it has selected any particular state of society for the peculiar exercise of its influence. If it has added lustre to the sceptre of the sovereign, it has equally been the consolation of the slave.—*Speech of Mr. Canning.*

upon Slavery,) "did not go forth and organize abolition societies, or attempt to disturb the civil relations of men, under the pretence that the order of things, which, under God, had been established, must be overturned. They preached the gospel to masters and servants, and promised its rewards to all who should obey its precepts. They told masters, to give unto their servants that which was just and equal, and told servants, to be obedient to their masters; and thus they endeavoured, by prescribing the duty, to promote the comfort, of both. '*Servants*,' says the apostle Peter, '*be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle*, BUT ALSO TO THE FROWARD. For this is thankworthy, if a man, for conscience towards God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. *For what glory is it, if, when you are buffeted for your faults, you take it patiently; but if when you do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable to God.*' Let it not be said that this express recognition of the obligation and duties of slavery, by him, of whom the Saviour said, 'on this rock will I build my church,' applies only to *hired service*. The institution, as it then existed, was one of rigorous and perpetual domestic servitude; and it was in express reference to that system, that the apostle prescribed the domestic code of relative duty between master and slave. Nor can any thing averse to this be inferred from the use of the word '*servants*' in our translation; the original Greek word is 'douloi,' the proper rendering of which, in English, is 'slaves.' We cannot imagine any stronger recognition of the legality of slavery than this solemn injunction of PETER to the slave, not only to be faithful to the just and kind owner, but to be humble and submissive to the buffets and stripes of even the capricious, unjust, and tyrannical master. If St.

Peter did not deem it his duty to pronounce domestic bondage unlawful, and proclaim liberty to the captive, and freedom to the slave, how comes it to be incumbent on the self-constituted missionaries of modern fanaticism, to preach down slavery as a sin against Christianity, and to preach up abolition as a Christian duty? Are they wiser and better than the apostle, nay, than even their gracious and divine Master; and is it their high province to overturn a domestic relation, which Christ and his early disciples were content to *regulate?* Regulation, not abolition, was all the author and first teachers of Christianity aimed at; and while they taught the slave his duty to his master, they also humanely bade 'masters do the same things to your servants, forbearing threatening, knowing that *your master* also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.' (Ephesians, chap. 16.)"

The case of the centurion affords an instance where our divine Master himself, at the request of the master, restored a sick slave. The centurion avowed himself a slave-holder. "I am," said he, "a man under authority, having soldiers under me. I say to one 'go,' and he goeth, and to another 'come,' and he cometh, *and to my servant 'do this,' and he doeth it.*" Yet our Saviour healed his sick servant without desiring his master to free him, or uttering a word in censure of their relation to each other.

"Let every man," says Paul, "abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called *being* a servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. (1 Corinthians, vii. 20, 21.) Again: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrines be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let

them not despise *them*, because they are brethren, but rather do them service; because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort." 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2.

The Epistle of Paul to Philemon, deserves peculiar attention, not only because it furnishes a distinguished instance in which the justice and legality of slavery is admitted, but exhibits the holy and eminent apostle as exerting his influence to restore the runaway slave to his master. Philemon, whom Paul had converted, owned a slave, named Onesimus, who ran away from his master, and fled to Rome. Paul subsequently visited Rome; and there converted Onesimus. He persuaded Onesimus to return to his master and his duty; and writes to Philemon to receive him with kindness. The following passage shows in what estimation Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, held Philemon, *the slave-holder*. "Paul a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon, our dearly beloved and fellow labourer: grace to you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. I thank my God: making mention of thee always in my prayers; hearing of thy love and faith which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all the saints; that the communication of thy faith may become effectual, by the acknowledging of every good thing, which is in you, in Jesus Christ. For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother."

The spirit which pervades the following passage, cannot fail to strike the Christian reader with admiration; and constitutes an illustrious contrast to the troublous, fierce and insurrectionary disposition manifested by the fanatics.

"Wherefore," continues Paul, "though I might

be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee, that which is convenient, yet for love sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ; I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and me; whom I have sent again. Thou therefore receive him, that is, mine own bowels. Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel: *but without thy mind would I do nothing;* that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him for ever; not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If thou count me therefore as a partner, receive him as myself, if he hath wronged thee, or oweth *thee* ought, put that on mine account: I Paul have written *it* with mine own hand, I will repay it, albeit I do not say how thou owest unto me thine own self besides. Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord: refresh my bowels in the Lord. Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

The fanatics who find it impossible to explain away these cases of the direct sanction of slavery, and who seek in vain for a line or word which discourages or condemns that institution, seize, in their despair, upon the golden rule—"do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," and so pervert it as to make it condemn what our Saviour and his apostles directly sanctioned. This presumptuous and profane attempt to make our Saviour's precepts inconsistent with his conduct, to distort his

language, by a laboured and false inference, into a censure of that which he impliedly encouraged, cannot be regarded without indignation. It exhibits the desperate character of that fanaticism, which would rather cast a reproach upon the Divine Founder of our blessed religion, than relinquish one of the cherished chimeras of their overheated and bewildered fancies.

Their application of the "golden rule," strips it of its golden attributes, and makes it sanction all that it was intended to condemn. They insist that the maxim, as interpreted by them, requires that the authority of the master over the slave should be immediately relinquished. We may add that, it requires further, that the authority of the father over his child, of the master over his apprentice, of the tutor over his pupil, should also be given up. It requires that the ruler should not control the private citizen; that the judge should not sentence the convict, nor the jailor confine the thief. Neither the child, servant, nor scholar—the citizen, convict, nor thief are dealt with according to their desires; nor as those, in whose power they are placed, would desire, if their relative position were reversed. That rule which would require that their wishes should be regarded as rights, and conceded accordingly, would abrogate all law, would place the innocent at the mercy of the guilty, involve right and wrong in indistinguishable confusion, and render society a chaotic and jarring mass of wretchedness and crime.

The direct and only rational exposition of the golden rule is, that, in every relation of life, we should do that which we believe to be our strict duty; that we should free ourselves from the prejudices and errors which our selfishness begets, and consider our duties rigidly and disinterestedly, unswayed by the flattery, weakness and self-deceit of

our own natures. For this purpose we should imagine ourselves in the place of him with whom we are acting, and do unto him that which we, possessed of our present knowledge of the circumstances of the case, would conceive proper, and which we would, if guided by a right intelligence, wish done unto us. The father should do unto his child as he would, if a child, and informed of his own interest, wish his father should do unto him; in like manner slave-holders should act towards their slaves, as a slave, possessed of their knowledge of the calamitous results of emancipation, and willing to be guided by that knowledge, would wish them to act. If the slave-holder, by placing himself, in fancy, in the condition of the slave, can imagine that the emancipation of the mass of ignorant, indolent and savage blacks in the South would result in consequences favourable to the greatest good of the greatest number, he has a right to emancipate them. But until he can arrive at that conviction, he has no moral right to flood the country with the horrors which must ensue, and would be guilty of an act of patricidal and guilty madness—ruinous to his country, his race, and even to the objects of his ill-directed and malign benevolence.

CHAPTER X.

Slavery considered, in continuation—Influence of Slavery—on civilization—on the female sex—on morality—on the political character and destinies of a country—on our country.

A PIOUS and correct mind cannot but hesitate to question the general benevolence of an institution which appears to have resulted from the laws of nature, to have existed from the earliest period, and to have prevailed beneath the eye and sanction of our Saviour himself. We cannot but believe, that if slavery were an evil, it could not have been thus linked with the necessities of the race; thus entailed, generation after generation, upon millions of the human family, and permitted to exist in its most rigorous form, even among God's favoured people, and in the immediate presence of the Divine Founder of Christianity. An examination of its influence upon the prosperity of nations, will vindicate Providence from the presumptuous charge of having continued and sustained an institution inimical to the moral and physical interests of the race; and prove that slavery, instead of operating injuriously, has, in its general influence, tended to ameliorate the condition and elevate the character of mankind.

The civilization of the race, if not kindled, was aided and heightened by the institution of slavery. Slaves are only valuable where regular labour is to be performed; and must, in all ages, have been en-

gaged in agriculture. The pursuit of agriculture has always tended, more than any other cause, to soften and enlighten the character of man. It wins him from the chase or the battle-field; it gives him permanent employment; connects him with a fixed spot; and acquaints him with the comforts of home. Domestic attachments soon spring up, and, cherished beneath the roof of the cotter, succeed in introducing new and more refined pursuits and pleasures. Slavery, probably cœval with the birth of agriculture, continued to impel the master onward in the career of civilization; it gathered around him the comforts of life; it accumulated wealth for him; and by creating artificial wants, and furnishing the means for their gratification, excited new desires and awakened new faculties for their attainment. Manufactures and commerce succeeded; the arts of civilized life sprang into existence; and man became a refined and intellectual being.

In America, the only states in which, at its discovery, slavery existed, were Peru and Mexico. "When compared," says Robertson, "with the other parts of the new world, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states." The people had collected in cities; possessed a government, laws, and system of religion, and had acquired some proficiency in the arts—attainments resulting, no doubt, from slavery.

In the islands of the South Sea, Captain Cook was astonished at the populousness of the Otaheite and Society Islands. It is ascribed to the existence of slavery, which prevailed in those islands.

In a late history of Africa, (Family Library, No. 16,) the following remark occurs: "It deserves *particular* notice, that the nations in this degrading state (slavery) are the most numerous, the most

powerful, and the most advanced in the arts and improvements of life."

Professor Dew is of opinion that the introduction of slavery among the Indians of this country, would have averted the approaching annihilation of the aboriginal race. He says, "When our ancestors first settled on this continent, the savages were around and among them, and were everywhere spread over this immense territory. Now, where are they?—Where are the warlike tribes that went to battle under their chieftains? They have rapidly disappeared, as the pale faces have advanced. Their numbers have dwindled to insignificance. Within the limits of the original states, the primitive stock has been reduced to 15,000. Within the whole of the United States, east of the Mississippi, there are but 105,000; and on the whole of our territory, east and west of the Mississippi, extending over thirty-four degrees of latitude and fifty-eight of longitude, there are but 313,130! Miserable remnant of the myriads of former days! And yet the government of our country has exhausted every means for their civilization; and the philanthropist has not been idle in their behalf. Schools have been erected, both public and private; missionaries have been sent among them—and all in vain. The President of the United States now tells you that their removal further to the West, is necessary—that those who live on our borders, in spite of all our efforts to civilize them, are rapidly deteriorating in character, and becoming every day more miserable and destitute."

"Slavery," Mr. Dew continues, "we assert again, appears to be the only means that we know of, under heaven, by which the ferocity of the savage can be conquered, his wandering habits eradi-

cated, his slothfulness—by which, in fine, his nature can be changed. The Spaniards enslaved the Indians in South America, and they were the most cruel and *relentless* of masters. Still, under their system of cruel and harsh discipline, an infinitely larger portion of the aborigines were saved than with us, and will, no doubt, in the lapse of ages, mix and harmonize with the Europeans, and be in all respects their equals. From their inhuman treatment of the Indians at first, numbers died in the process of taming and subjugating; but in the end, their system has proved more humane than ours, and demonstrates, beyond a doubt, that nothing is so fit as slavery to change the nature of the savage. 'We observe,' says Humboldt, 'and the observation is consoling to humanity, that not only has the number of Indians in South America and Mexico been on the increase for the last century, (he published his work in 1808,) but that the whole of the vast region which we designate by the general name of New Spain is much better inhabited at present than it was before the arrival of the Europeans.' He gives a very remarkable instance of the effects of an unjust slavery on the industry and agriculture of the country. He speaks of the *alcaldias mayores*, a sort of provincial magistrates and judges in Mexico, forcing the Indians to purchase cattle of them, and afterwards reducing them to slavery for non-payment of the debts thus contracted; and he adds, upon the authority of Fray Antonio, monk of St. Jerome, that 'the individual happiness of these unfortunate wretches was not certainly increased by the sacrifice of their liberty for a horse or a mule, to work for their master's profit. *But yet, in the midst of this state of things, brought on by abuses, agriculture and industry were seen to increase.*'"

The views of Professor Dew on this subject are

confirmed by Secretary Cass, who, referring to the Cherokees as the only tribe that has acquired partial civilization, says: "The causes which have led to this state of things are too peculiar ever to produce an extensive result. They have been operating for many years; and among the most prominent of them *has been the introduction of slaves, by which means that unconquerable aversion to labour, so characteristic of all savage tribes, can be indulged.*"

One of the most pleasing incidents of slavery is its amelioration of the condition of the female sex. Among all savage people women are degraded into slaves, the abject drudges of their brutal lords. The men indulge in the chase, or pursue their wars, and leave to helpless woman a lot of cruelty and degradation, of labour without intermission, suffering without sympathy. One of the first fruits of slavery is the rescue of the gentle victims from their undeserved and wretched fate. The slave relieves the woman. Released from a condition worse than that of bondage, leisure is afforded; and with woman, in her rudest state, leisure must result in improvement. Her faculties are developed; her gentle and softening influence is seen and felt; she assumes the high station for which nature designed her; and, happy in the hallowed affections of her own bosom, unweariedly exerts those powers so well adapted to the task of humanizing and blessing others.

It has been asserted, that slavery exerts an unfortunate influence over the morals of the people among whom it prevails. This result is produced, it is said, by the vicious example set by the slave-holder to his child: but we have no reason to believe that a master of slaves is more liable than another to exhibit an example dangerous to the morals of his child. On the contrary, the slave-holding portion of our citizens are known, by all acquainted with their

character, and uninfluenced by the calumnies of the abolitionists, to be as moderate, as refined, as moral, as studious and scrupulous in the performance of their duties as citizens and Christians, as the inhabitants of any section of our country, or any other country. Indeed it has been frequently remarked, that slavery tends to exalt and refine the character, and that the class of our people referred to are generally more elevated in their sense of duty, more polished, than any other portion of our population. This fact has been remarked not only by the unprejudiced of our own citizens, but by intelligent and candid foreigners. The institution appears to exert a beneficial influence on the slave also. There is no instance on record of so rapid an improvement in the character of a people, as has taken place in the Africans and their descendants in this country. Civilization and conversion to Christianity could not have been so rapidly and effectually accomplished in any other manner. The moral influence of slavery upon those subject to its obligation, may be perhaps ascribed to the fact, that the slave has, in that condition, nothing to tempt or urge him into immorality, and every thing both in hope and fear, to restrain him from it. Mr. Giles of Virginia, with that proud exultation with which the citizens of the Old Dominion regard their native state, said, that "the whole population of Virginia, consisting of three *castes*, of free white, free coloured, and slave-coloured population, is the soundest and most moral of any other, according to numbers, in the whole world, as far as is known to me." Mr. Walsh also remarks on this subject: "When we investigate the dispositions and morals of the European nations, it is not with the 'lowest and least' of them alone, but with the highest and greatest, that we venture to compare the white population of our slave-holding states."

The advocates of abolition refer with great confidence to the danger which menaces the political character of our country and people from the influence of slavery. We cannot but marvel at the presumption of men who can affect a regard for the interests of their country at the moment they are urging schemes which *they know* must sunder the bonds which knit it together, and hurl it down from the proud elevation which, as a united confederacy, it has so long occupied. They have urged abolition for years, and continue to urge it. Do they persist in the hope that they will persuade the slave-holder to relinquish his property? On the contrary, they have adopted a course of abuse towards the southron which they know must, and which they intend shall, irritate and madden him. They cherish no object which requires the assent of the slave-holder; they expect to urge the north into measures to *coerce* abolition, and failing in that, to incite the negroes to insurrection! These are the patriots who affect such peculiar concern for the influence of slavery upon the political interests of the country—men who are plotting not merely its political ruin, but its desolation with fire and sword—its destruction with all the horrors of a civil and servile war, horrors which would make our cities a solitude, our valleys deserts, and redden our rivers with the blood of our people. The political character of the country must sink low indeed before it can need such protectors.

Slavery has existed in this country, as we have seen, from its earliest settlement. Where and how has it deteriorated its political character? Who were they that first denounced the oppressions of Great Britain? The slave-holders of Virginia. Who first declared themselves independent, and dared the hazards of a contest with the colossal power of the

mother country? The slave-holders of North Carolina. Who, when exempted from the severities of England and offered the advantages accruing from the restrictions on New England commerce, rejected the proffered privilege with disdain, and preferred suffering with their brethren to profiting by their adversity? The slave-holders of South Carolina. Who, in the hour of our country's trial, have been foremost in her defence—who in her councils have displayed the most profound political wisdom, united to the warmest and holiest patriotism? The slave-holders Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Marshall, Henry and Calhoun, Clay and Jackson, and a host whose illustrious lives present a noble vindication of their country. What means the constant iteration of these paltry charges against the south? Has the north a right to decide that she is superior to her sister south, in political virtue; to say *stand aside, for I am holier than thou?* Is this modest assumption of superior virtue creditable to her? Above all, is it true? The political history of our country responds emphatically and indignantly in the negative. In politics, if the south has been ardent she has ever been honest; if she has maintained her own rights with intrepidity, she has also bared her breast with eager and patriotic zeal whenever the north was endangered. It will be conceded that in no part of the Union is the same jealous devotion to liberty manifested; nowhere do the usurpations of power meet so prompt and stern a rebuke, the intrigues of the demagogue so general and contemptuous an opposition; nowhere are the public men more intrepid, able and independent, or the people themselves more intractable and proud-spirited in the consciousness and maintenance of their freedom. On this subject we have the testimony of the splendid and philosophical mind of Burke. The whole

passage, which we extract from his speech on conciliation with America, is equally brilliant and sound.

"There is a circumstance attending the southern American colonies, which makes the spirit of liberty still *more high and haughty there than in those to the northward.* It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have vast multitudes of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, *may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude,* liberty looks amongst them like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; *but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so: and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those of the northward.* Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; *and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves.* In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible."

To him who contemplates the "high and haughty" virtues of the south, and then recurs to the treachery and tergiversation, the degrading appeals to popular errors, the corrupt arts of electioneering, the servility and indifference to principle, and the universal and ravenous appetite for office, exhibited in the politics of the north—we say, that to him who contemplates the contrast thus presented, the objections

made to slavery on account of its influence in producing political degeneracy, appear too absurd for serious refutation.

In the republics of Greece and Rome, when the spirit of freedom was cherished with the sternest devotion, when their people were, in its defence, performing deeds which have made their names the synonymes of all that is noble and illustrious, slavery prevailed to such an extent that the bond doubled the number of the free. So far were the sages or patriots of those countries from regarding it as an evil, that they considered it essential for the preservation of an elevated national character. Aristotle and the philosophers of old, deemed slavery necessary to maintain the spirit of freedom. In Sparta, so strong was their conviction of the necessity of slavery to encourage a free and independent spirit in their citizens, that it was made penal for a freeman to perform the offices of a slave. Ferguson, in his essay on the history of civil society, says: "We feel the injustice of the institution of slavery at Sparta. We suffer for the Helot: but we think only of the superior order of men in this state, when we attend to that elevation and magnanimity of spirit for which danger had no terror, interest no means to corrupt: when we consider them as friends or as citizens, we are apt to forget, like themselves, that slaves have a title to be treated like men."

It will be admitted, that one of the first and most essential requisites in the formation of republican character is intelligence. Without that, patriotism is blind and inefficient. Without it, a virtuous people may be readily deceived and betrayed, and lose their freedom before they dream that it is in peril. The slave-holder has, in this particular, the inestimable advantage of leisure. Relieved from the labour required for actual support, he is enabled to direct

his attention to public affairs; to investigate political subjects, and exercise his privileges understandingly. This result has been fully attained at the south. In no population in the world is the same time devoted to political investigations; and nowhere are the rights of man so fully canvassed and understood by the mass of the citizens.

While we acknowledge that some of the noblest spirits which our race has boasted have been linked, through life, with poverty, and while we are proud to be enabled to boast that in no country are the poor more pure and virtuous than in our own, yet we must also admit that poverty has its temptations. Men who enter into politics, as do many in the north, for the purpose of making money, are but dangerous agents. The public council, which is constituted of men who from situation and character are accessible to pecuniary temptation, is but a frail barrier against the designs of the ambitious. In most cases it becomes not merely treacherous in its inactivity, but active in its treason—the pliant and efficient engine of power. The institution of slavery, by forming the character of the citizen on a more elevated standard, by lifting him above the necessities and temptations of poverty, secures, to the councils of the country, men for whom, to repeat the words of Ferguson, "danger has no terror, interest no means to corrupt."

There is one result which has been accomplished by slavery, and which no other cause has hitherto completely effected—it has introduced a complete equality among the whites. Professor Dew thus describes the difference which prevails in the north and south in this particular. "The menial and low offices being all performed by the blacks, there is at once taken away the greatest cause of distinction and separation of the ranks of society. The man

at the north will not shake hands familiarly with his servant, and converse and laugh, and dine with him, no matter how honest and respectable he may be. But go to the south, and you will find that no white man feels such inferiority of rank as to be unworthy of association with those around him. Colour alone is here the badge of distinction, the true mark of aristocracy, and all who are white are equal in spite of variety of occupation." That this equality upon the part of the whites is occasioned by the presence of slavery is demonstrated by the fact, that it exists also in the West Indies, as will be seen by the following passage from Bryan Edward's History of these Islands. "Of the character," says this author, "common to the white residents of the West Indies, it appears to me, that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a white man in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery."

No one who has resided at the north will be willing to deny the alleged inequality in the rank of our citizens. It must be acknowledged that there has sprung up amongst us that most odious of all species of aristocracy—the aristocracy of gold. Wealth has already attained a power which, it must be admitted, elevates it to a rank unapproachable to the poor.

Already have we the upper, middle, and lower ranks of society: and no one will presume to assert that any personal merit will entitle the unfortunate member of the *lower caste* to mingle with the higher. It is the inevitable consequence of the revolution which divides society into ranks, that while one rises the other sinks. This has been the case at the north; and while the wealthy have attained rank and power, the poor have lost both. True, they still possess the elective franchise; but even in the exercise of this they are driven in heady and unreflecting masses by demagogues, or swayed by rich patrons and employers. Any one conversant with the influence attained by those whose capital places them at the head of large numbers, will admit, that whatever may be the cant of the politicians of the day, the irresistible force of circumstances has destroyed for ever the boasted equality of the people. The climate of our northern latitude, and the pursuits of our people, have prevented the introduction of slaves into the north, and we rejoice that it is so: but had the lower offices of labour been performed by servile hands, we would not find the poor of our section of the Union occupying their present position.

The slavery of the southern states of this Union is, in some of its features, peculiar, and is not liable to many of the objections alleged against slavery in general. One of these peculiarities is the complexion of the slave.

We are aware that the colour of the slave is made the constant theme of artful declamation by the abolitionists. The negroes are said to be punished for the hue of their skin; and the right to hold the slave is made to arise from that peculiarity. It is scarcely necessary to say that these representations, like most others from the same source, are wilfully

false, and are intended only to excite the slave to violence and revenge. But since they refer thus triumphantly to the colour of the slave, we may remark, that it *does* constitute, among the numerous and overwhelming considerations which constrain the slave-holder to reject the mad projects of the abolitionists, an argument "of great pith and moment."

In most countries in which slavery has prevailed, the slave has been of the same race, form, and complexion as his master; and was frequently not only his equal but superior in mental and personal accomplishments. These facts could not but impart to the aspect of slavery an expression of peculiar severity and injustice, and excite in the bosom of the slave a sense of wrong, and a desire for redress. Here no such jealousy exists. The slave sees himself "quoted and marked" as a different, perhaps an inferior race, of the human species; and never, unless under the benign influence of the abolition mischief-makers, regards the superiority of his master with envy or ill will. Among the ancients, the act of manumission annihilated all distinction between the master and the slave, or between the latter and the mass of society. He merged with the body of the population, and was marked by no peculiarity to distinguish or separate him from others, and to render him, in the midst of the population, an exile and an outcast. Here, on the contrary, the colour of the slave is the badge of his condition; and does much to make him regard it as his destiny. Even manumission cannot materially change his lot—cannot give him the privileges of the whites—lift him to the rank of a freeman, or wipe away the colour which separates him from the mass of our people, and dooms him to inevitable and perpetual inferiority. In the countries referred to, the reminis-

cence of the slave often comprised a record of former opulence, power, and pride, from which the fortunes of war or the tyranny of power had torn him, to consign him to the most abject and cruel slavery. With our negro the past is either a blank or a record of wretchedness. His nation is a people of slaves: all of his colour were, in their progenitors or themselves, bondmen. His country, instead of being an object of desire and regret, is a terror; and nothing can appal him more than the prospect of returning to it. His present condition, so far from being a lapse or fall from former happiness, is superior to any lot which his ancestors or himself had dared to hope. The abolitionists sympathise profoundly with the degradation of the negro. Their sympathies are wasted. He knows no degradation. His situation is now as proud as it has ever been; and his ambition, unless perverted by the abolitionists, seeks no higher distinction, and can know no greater pride, than the praise of his master for superior morality, diligence, and good conduct. Such is the slavery of the negro; and his complexion, notwithstanding the poetic appeals of the enthusiasts, has a great and beneficial influence in rendering him humble and content with the situation in which Providence has placed him.

We consider it impossible for any candid mind acquainted with the subject, to doubt that slavery is indispensable to the South; that it is the source of its wealth, influence, power, and prosperity; and that its abolition would make the southern states a desert. That such is and has long been the opinion of the intelligent citizens of the South, no one will deny. The following paragraph is copied from the "Charleston Courier," and was published some years ago. It must be remembered, that the "Courier is an *Union print*, and is distinguished for its

zeal and ability in opposing the ruling party in South Carolina.

"We must be permitted, however, to say to the Boston editor, that he is utterly mistaken in supposing that the people of the South regard domestic slavery, as it exists among them, in the light of a curse; on the contrary, they hold it to be absolutely necessary to the proper cultivation of the soil, and to be the great source of their prosperity, wealth, and happiness; without it their fertile fields would become a wilderness and a desert,—their real curse not being slavery, but a climate, which, although congenial to the constitution of the negro, would mow down the whites with the scythe of destruction. Nor do the people of the South deem slavery 'a curse' to the negroes themselves—it exists with us in a mild parental form—the relation between master and slave being cemented as well by affection as interest—and the slaves of the South are believed, and, we may indeed say, *known* to be, a better and a happier race than the idle and vagabond free coloured population of the North, the worn out and half-starved manufacturers of England, and the labouring classes in most other countries."

The soil and productions, but more particularly the climate of the South, preclude the possibility of the successful employment of white labourers there. Severe physical toil in the South has always proved fatal to the white man; to the negro, on the contrary, it is attended with neither danger nor inconvenience. The torrid sun has no terrors for him; and the hot breath of the South, before which the white labourer faints and perishes, is found to be accordant with the constitution and nature of the black. It was the impracticability of employing white labour, that induced the original introduction of slavery, and that has continued and will

continue it. Of the unfitness of the white man for continued exposure and labour in the South, there is, with those acquainted with the facts, no doubt. If there were, to banish them it would be sufficient to mention that white labour never there has been successfully employed; that when tried it has been found to result in the extended destruction of life; and that, with all the characteristic enterprise and hardihood of our countrymen, and with the unrivalled advantages of the South to the agriculturist —the entire South is still cultivated by blacks. On this subject, an intelligent journalist of a northern city, (M. M. Noah, Esq.) says—

"Setting aside all that has been said in favour of the position, that slavery is a natural condition of the negro, which must of necessity exist as a natural consequence of the imperfect organization of the negro, we now come to the question whether it is not absolutely necessary as a component element in the structure of society in this country. Whatever might have been the result of a dense population in the southern states, exclusively composed of whites, we would now put the question whether it would have been possible to have cultivated the soil of the southern states, possessing the peculiarities of climate which they do, without the aid of a negro population? Whether the staple commodities of cotton, tobacco, rice, &c., which are the growth of that peculiar climate and soil, could have ever been brought to the successful cultivation that they have been without slave labour? Is it not clear that these rich staples to which we of the North, as well as of the South, owe all the wealth, prosperity and greatness of our country, would have been a *dead letter* without the aid of slave labour? Is it not certain that, without this dispensation in our behalf, the whole South would have been an entire swamp and

morass of stagnant pools and weeds, and overgrown forests? We think this undeniable. And who are those that have been most benefitted and most enriched by this state of things? The North and her enterprising citizens, who have been the active traders that have brought this wealth into the market, and who, for want of any *peculiar* staples themselves, have become the factors and merchants, and ship-builders and manufacturers, by which the great southern staple of cotton has been consumed and turned into a most profitable source of wealth. The North, therefore, in countenancing any interference with the slave property of the South, or in endeavouring by emancipation, abolition, or otherwise, to weaken the relation existing between master and slave, is stabbing her own vital interests to the heart."

Even those who advocate abolition do not deny the necessity of retaining the labour of the blacks. They admit that the climate of the South is fatal to the labouring white man, and acknowledge, to the fullest extent, the desolating consequences of a remission of negro labour in that section of the republic. Drs. Reed and Matheson, delegates from the congregational union of England and Wales, to the American churches, have since their return published two volumes of letters, in which the subject of slavery is handled with all the presumptuous boldness of ignorance, and many abolition slanders [illegible] with confident assurances of their veracity. It is unnecessary here to speak of the conduct of these gentlemen, who visit the country on a mission of piety, and after having received the most fraternal and affectionate attention, return to calumniate us. We refer to the work to quote the following important admissions. "To transport all the slaves to a foreign shore would inflict on America herself *a*

most deadly wound. She wants the coloured people; *she cannot do without them.*" Again. "*If the Africans were removed to-morrow* ONE HALF OF HER TERRITORIES WOULD BE A MERE DESOLATION!" Such is the language even of abolitionists.

The following description of the details of slave labour in Louisiana is interesting and important. We extract them from Flint's History of the Mississippi Valley." "In all the better managed plantations, the mode of building the quarters is fixed. The arrangement of the little village has a fashion, by which it is settled. Interest, if not humanity, has defined the amount of food and rest necessary for their health: there is on a large and respectable plantation as much precision in the rules, as much exactness in the times of going to sleep, awakening, going to labour, and resting before and after meals, as in a garrison under military discipline, or in a ship of war. A bell gives all the signals. Every slave at the assigned hour in the morning is forthcoming to his labour, or his case is reported, either as one of idleness, obstinacy, or sickness, in which case he is sent to the hospital, and there he is attended by a physician, who, for the most part, has a yearly salary for attending all the sick of the plantation. The union of physical force, directed by one will, is now well understood to have a much greater effect upon the amount of labour which a number of hands so managed can bring about, than the same force directed by as many wills as there are hands. Hence it happens, that while one free man, circumstances being the same, will perform more labour than one slave, one hundred slaves will accomplish more on one plantation, than so many hired free men acting at their own discretion. Hence, too, it is that such a prodigious quantity of cotton and sugar is made here in proportion to the number of labouring hands.

All the process of agriculture is managed by system. Every thing goes strait forward. There is no pulling down to-day the scheme of yesterday, and the whole amount of force is directed, by the teaching of experience, to the best result."

It would be well for those who assert the superiority of free labour, to explain the causes of its want of success. If free labour be more profitable, why is it not introduced at the South? Of the millions who pour from the Atlantic board into the West, why are there none to try their system of labour in the slave states? And the southern planters themselves, why do they not seize this method of increasing their profits? With all the shrewdness and enterprise of the American character, how is it that this source of wealth has been undiscovered and undisturbed? It is a marvel which those who underrate slave labour cannot explain. The spirit of our country would long since have reformed such an evil had it been an evil—would long since have resorted to free labour, had free labour been able to compete with the labour of slaves. The conclusion is irresistible, that the present mode of cultivating the South is more profitable than any scheme which the northern abolitionists can devise, or such schemes would have been heretofore adopted; and that any change in the domestic institutions of the South would be disastrous to her and to the North.

It will be freely admitted, that in the North, among free and intelligent whites, free labour is infinitely more profitable than the labour of slaves could there be. Had it been otherwise, *slavery would now be as prevalent there as at the South.* But it is vain and idle to pretend, that in a hot and sultry climate, where every thing invites even the more diligent white to indolence, that the slothful negro would labour without compulsion. In no

southern country that we are acquainted with, is free labour found to be so profitable as that which is urged by coercion. The labour of Spain and Italy is decidedly inferior to that of our southern states. But if this be true of white labourers beneath a southern sun, it is peculiarly so of the blacks. We have no instance of profitable free labour among the free blacks. St. Domingo, once the greatest sugar growing island in the world, is now almost a wilderness. Mr. Franklin, in his "Present State of Hayti," gives the following account of the consequences of free labour in that island. "I cannot avoid repeating that Hayti must not be held up as an example of what can be accomplished by free labour; but that it ought rather to be the beacon to warn the government of England against an experiment which may prove absolutely fatal to her colonial system. If it be not wished that a fate similar to that which has befallen Hayti should overtake our colonies, that they should be rendered wholly unproductive to the revenue of the country, and that the property invested in them should be preserved from destruction, the advisers of the crown must pause before they listen to the ill-judged suggestions of enthusiasts; for they must banish from their minds the idea that the work of cultivation can be made productive by means of free labour. Such a thing appears to me impossible. The negro, constituted as he is, has such an aversion to labour, and so great a propensity for indulgence and vice, that no prospect of advantage can stimulate him; and as for emulation it has not the slightest influence over him. Without force he will sink into lethargy, and revert to his primitive savage character, and the only feasible and effectual plan to promote his civilization is to persist in those measures which compel him to labour, inculcate morality, and tend to

extirpate those vices which are inherent in the descendants of the African race." Of the success of the Haytien experiment it may become necessary to treat more fully hereafter. St. Domingo, however, is not the only example of the settled and invincible aversion of the negro in warm latitudes to labour. In the English West Indies the most rigid police system is, even in their present state of apprenticeship, insufficient to constrain them to the same amount of labour as formerly; and at our own colony of Liberia, the population of which has been selected with care, it has always been found impossible to induce the settlers to engage in agricultural, or any permanent and regular labour.

Of the general productiveness of slave-labour there are innumerable examples. The ancient nations of the East owed their unbounded wealth to slave-labour. Egypt, Greece, and Rome, all densely populated, boundless in affluence and power, were slave-holding nations, and owed their prosperity to slave labour. In our own times, the wealth of the West India colonies, of Brazil, of our own southern country, particularly the south-western states, illustrates the productiveness of slave-labour. It is true that a portion of the South has not advanced recently as rapidly as many sections of the North and West. On examination, however, it will be found that those states were, up to the period of the protective policy, more prosperous than their sisters; and though that policy, joined with southern extravagance, the amount of labour lost in the sickly season, the loss by emigration to the West, and the emoluments of her factor, the shrewder and more shifting North, has retarded her onward progress, we believe that the South is destined to rival, perhaps outstrip, her most fortunate sisters in wealth and prosperity. If the abolitionists do not dissolve the bonds of our union, the

North will continue to thrive on the fatness of the South; and all the members of our national family, not only united by the recollections of the past and the hopes of the future, by our common interest in the heritage of freedom and glory left by our ancestors, but knit together in an intercourse of mutual benefits—will advance hand in hand to affluence and power. Should, however, the blows which have already been given, and are daily redoubled, succeed in severing the links that bind us together, the evil will be upon the North. Those who are tugging at the pillars of the temple of Union will, Sampson-like, be buried in its ruins—the South will remain unharmed. United and tranquil, with her slave-labour, and its golden produce the rich staples cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, &c., with a commerce of her own untaxed and richly sustained by her immense exports, she would (were her sons true—and when have they proved recreant?) hold undisturbed her onward course to power and affluence. She may wax poor, but slavery will never impoverish her; her fertile valleys may be bathed in blood, but, unless northern philanthropy excites it, it will not be shed by the hands of her slaves; she may become shrunken in spirit and power, craven and degenerate, and fall from her present high estate, but the philosophic historian will never ascribe her downfall to the institution of slavery. Her institutions are such as have grown out of her wants, such as suit her situation; they have promoted her prosperity and will insure its continuance. If unmolested, she will remain tranquil, prosperous, and happy; if disturbed, she may lose her tranquillity, but is fully capable of maintaining her own safety, and promoting her own welfare. Her course is onward; and the raving of the fanatics will not check nor turn her aside.

CHAPTER XI.

Schemes for the removal of Slavery—Colonization and Abolition—History of Colonization—Statement of its friends, of its opponents, &c.

As the introduction of slavery into this country was originally opposed, its continuance has also been deplored, by many of our citizens. At the North, where there was no inducement to continue to hold their slaves in bondage, they were gradually emancipated. In the South, where the number of the slaves was so great as to render abolition impracticable, other schemes have been suggested. Many different plans have, at different times, been proposed; and those who, not having properly considered the subject, regard negro slavery as an evil, have encouraged and sustained them. Some have even urged the expediency of confining the slaves, and compelling them to labour, the sexes being separated, in *Ergastula*, until the race may thus be extinguished; others have recommended that they be conveyed to some distant point in our own territory, and established as a separate community. It would, however, be useless and tiresome to revive the bubbles that have been, at different times, raised to burst beneath the first touch of investigation. Of the countless plans suggested by the quacks who, having conjectured that slavery was an evil, have also conjectured a cure, the only ones which have survived, are colonization on the western coast of Africa, and the

immediate or gradual abolition of slavery without expatriation.

The scheme of colonization was conceived at an early period, and appears to have been regarded with favour by some of the greatest minds our country has produced. Mr. Jefferson, as early as 1777, is said to have suggested colonization. In 1801 the legislature of Virginia, a state that appears to have been always restive on the subject of slavery, recommended colonization. In 1816 the same body passed the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, the general assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of colour as had been or might be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to success.

"They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade (a traffic which this commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to exterminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore

"*Resolve*, That the executive be requested to correspond with the president of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the western coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the states or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth; and that the senators and representatives of this state in the congress

of the United States be requested to use their best efforts to aid the president of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

"*Provided*, That no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this commonwealth, until ratified by the legislature."

In December, 1816, the American Colonization Society was organized at Washington under the auspices of Dr. Finley of New Jersey, Hon. C. F. Mercer, F. S. Key, and some others. Measures were taken as early as possible to select a site for the proposed colony. In 1818, Messrs. Mill and Burgess visited Africa by the way of England, and gained much important information. In 1820, the first expedition sailed, and attempted to make a settlement on the Island of Sherbo. The climate proved fatal to the settlers, and the effort failed. In 1821 another expedition sailed, and the colonists remained at Sierra Leone until a settlement could be made. In 1821, Dr. Eli Ayres, with Captain Stockton of the U. S. navy, purchased from the natives the territory called Montserado in the name of the Society. In 1822, a settlement was effected, and the colony placed under the government of Mr. Ashmun, as agent of the Society. The first year of the settlement was marked by many disasters. The natives assailed the colony in great force, but were repelled with intrepidity and success. In 1824 a form of government was adopted by the colonists. The board of managers of the Society appoint the colonial agent, who is a white man: all the other officers are men of colour, the most important of which are elected annually. Mr. Ashmun continued to preside over the colony until 1828, when he was constrained by illness, which soon proved fatal, to return to America. He was succeeded by Dr.

Richard Randall, who shortly after died, when Dr. Mechlin became agent.*

* The following account of the colony is extracted from an address published by the Board in 1832.

"*Description of the Colony.*—The name of Liberia has been given to the colony, because it is the land of the freed. Cape Montserado, on which stands the principal town (Monrovia, so called, in honour of President Monroe,) lies in about the sixth degree of North latitude. The tract of country under the colonial jurisdiction, has been obtained by fair purchase, from time to time, from the natives, and extends from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles along the coast, and indefinitely into the interior. Two important districts, Grand Bassa and Cape Mount, have recently been acquired in this way. There are several rivers, most of them small however. The St. Paul's is half a mile wide at its mouth, and were it not obstructed by falls, would admit of boat navigation two or three hundred miles. The three principal towns are Monrovia and Caldwell, about seven miles distant on the St. Paul's (which is connected with the Montserado river, by Stockton Creek,) and Mills and Burgess, (or by contraction Millsburg,) about fifteen miles above Caldwell, on the same river. The houses in Monrovia are substantially built, many of them of stone.

"*Fertility and Agriculture.*—In their address the colonists say: 'A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth.' Dr. Randall says, 'that the land on both sides of Stockton Creek is equal in every respect, to the best on the southern rivers of the United States.'

"Mr. Ashmun thus enumerates the animals and products of the country: horses, cattle, sheep, goats, swine, ducks, geese, chickens, and Guinea fowls, in abundance: fish in the greatest plenty; plantains, bananas, vines, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, mangoes, cashew, prunes, guava, pine-apple, grape, cherry, and a species of peach; sweet potato, cassada, yams, cocoa, ground-nuts, arrow-root, egg-plant, okra, every variety of beans and peas, cucumbers and melons, pumpkins, &c. &c.; rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, pepper, excellent coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo. Indeed sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo, grow wild.

"*Climate, and Health of the Settlers.*—In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, the discouragements they met with, their

The society soon numbered among its active friends, many of the most illustrious names in the republic. Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Judge Washington, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, W. H. Crawford, and many others, gave the scheme

ignorance of the proper mode of living, and of the best remedies, aided the other causes of sickness, and produced great mortality. But those times are past and forgotten. Their houses and circumstances are now comfortable; they are abundantly supplied with medical assistance; and for the last five years (as stated in the address of the colonists in 1827,) not one person in forty, from the middle and southern states, has died from change of climate. The effect is most severely felt by those from the northern states, or from mountainous parts of the middle states; but experience has proved that, with ordinary prudence, no danger is to be apprehended even by persons from those places, who are sober and have no radical defects of constitution. As the country becomes more thickly settled and better cultivated, it will, like all other new countries, become more healthy. From the past mortality or present sickliness, no discouragement will be felt by those who have read an account of the early attempts to found colonies in this favoured land. At a little distance from the sea, the land becomes more elevated, and there is the best reason to believe that the causes of disease on the coast are unknown in the interior. On these highlands, settlements will doubtless soon be established. Under date of the 28th of April, 1832, Dr. Mechlin writes—'among the emigrants by the Volador, Criterion, Orion, James Perkins, Margaret, Mercer, and Crawford, the number of deaths will not average quite four per cent.' For emigrants from the wide extent of our southern country, the climate may be pronounced salubrious."

"*Commerce.*—The colonists are actively engaged in trade, disposing of goods supplied by this country and England, for dye woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, and rice, which they purchase by barter from the natives. The nett profits on the two articles of wood and ivory, passing through the hands of the settlers, from January 1st, 1826, to June 15, 1826, was $30,786. In 1829, the exports of African products amounted to $60,000. In 1831, forty-six vessels, twenty-one of which were American, visited the colony in the course of the year, and the amount of exports was $88,911.

of colonization, their active and ardent support. Auxiliary societies were formed; agents were appointed; the legislatures of many of the states encouraged the effort; and the funds of the society became sufficient to authorize vigorous measures, to promote the object for which it was formed.

The views of the friends of the scheme are fully and eloquently set forth in the address, delivered by Mr. Clay, before the society at its tenth annual meeting. The following extracts are sufficiently important to warrant us in extracting them entire.

"The object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments are also voluntary. But it was said, that no free coloured persons could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life, and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object, and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasm. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation whether a colony can or cannot be planted from the United States of free persons of colour on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated. Such a colony in fact exists, prospers, has made successful war, and honourable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business of a civilized and Christian community. It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence.

sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighbouring clans."

"The Society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive Colony. And land in ample quantities, it has been ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favourable as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits."

"The Colonization Society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several Governments of the Union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable objects of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted as we advance in national age; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if, during that whole term, the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of Euro-

pean origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious.—Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, while the European race should be left to multiply, we should find, at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space."

"It will be borne in mind that the aim of the Society is to establish in Africa a Colony of the free African population of the United States; to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. The whole free coloured population of the United States amounted, in 1790, to 59,481; in 1800, to 110,072; in 1810, to 186,446; and in 1820, to 233,530. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years, was about eight and a half per cent. per annum; during the second, about seven per cent. per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipa-

tions operating with more influence upon the total smaller amount of free coloured persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St. Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free coloured population.

"Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free coloured, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want. During the ten years, between 1810 and 1820, when no extraneous causes existed to prevent a fair competition in the increase between the slave and the free African race, the former increased at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum, whilst the latter did not much exceed two and a half. Hereafter, it may be safely assumed, and I venture to predict will not be contradicted by the return of the next census, that the increase of the free black population will not surpass two and a half per cent. per annum. Their amount at the last census, being 233,530, for the sake of round numbers, their annual increase may be assumed to be 6000, at the present time. Now, if this number could be annually transported from the United States during a term of years, it is evident that, at the end of that term, the parent capital will not have increased, but will have been kept down at least to what it was at the commencement of the term. Is it practicable then to colonize annually six thousand persons from the United States, without materially impairing or affecting any of the great interests of the United States? This is the question presented to the judgments of the Legislative authorities of our country. This is the whole scheme of the Society. From its actual experience, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the per-

sons already sent to Africa, the entire average expense of each Colonist, young and old, including passage money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head. There is reason to believe that it may be reduced considerably below that sum. Estimating that to be the expense, the total cost of transporting 6000 souls annually, to Africa, would be $120,000. The tonnage requisite to effect the object, calculating two persons to every five tons (which is the provision of existing law) would be 15,000 tons. But as each vessel could probably make two voyages in the year, it may be reduced to 7,500. And as both our mercantile and military marine might be occasionally employed on this collateral service, without injury to the main object of the voyage, a further abatement might be safely made in the aggregate amount of the necessary tonnage. The navigation concerned in the commerce between the Colony and the United States, (and it already begins to supply subjects of an interesting trade,) might be incidentally employed to the same end.

"Is the annual expenditure of a sum no larger than $120,000, and the annual employment of 7,500 tons of shipping, too much for reasonable exertion, considering the magnitude of the object in view? Are they not, on the contrary, within the compass of moderate efforts?

"Here is the whole scheme of the Society—a project which has been pronounced visionary by those who have never given themselves the trouble to examine it, but to which I believe most unbiassed men will yield their cordial assent, after they have investigated it."

"Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States, calculated

upon the return of the last census (1,538,128) is 46,000. Applying the data which have been already stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of colour from the United States to Africa, to the aggregate annual increase both bond and free of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase of both descriptions, is 52,000. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, (supposing no reduction of present prices,) would be one million and forty thousand dollars, and the requisite amount of tonnage would be only 130,000 tons of shipping, about one-ninth part of the mercantile marine of the United States. Upon the supposition of a vessel's making two voyages in the year, it would be reduced to one half, 65,000. And this quantity would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunites of incidental employment of vessels belonging both to the mercantile and military marines.

"But, is the annual application of $1,040,000, and the employment of 65 or even 130,000 tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot, looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burthen to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane? During the general continuance of the African slave trade, hundreds of thousands of slaves have been, in a single year, imported into the several countries whose laws authorized their admission. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the powers now engaged to suppress the slave trade, I have received information, that in a single year, in the single island of Cuba, slaves equal in amount to one half of the above number of 52,000 have been illicitly intro-

duced. Is it possible that those who are concerned in an infamous traffic, can effect more than the States of this Union, if they were seriously to engage in the good work? Is it credible—is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose, that the triumphs of fraud and violence and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue and benevolence and humanity?"

"Further, by the annual withdrawal of 52,000 persons of colour, there would be annual space created for an equal number of the white race. The period, therefore, of duplication of the whites, by the laws which govern population, would be accelerated."

The friends of colonization urge the scheme on other grounds, many of which are entitled to attention.

They allege that, notwithstanding the severe enactments against the slave-trade, it is continued to a great extent, and that nothing can effectually suppress it but the establishment of colonies along the coast. This statement has not been, so far as we are informed, assailed. The extent of the inhuman traffic is conceded; and the usefulness of the colony in discouraging it has been fully attested.

It is urged also, that the influence of colonies along the African coast upon the savage nations cannot but be beneficial. The settlers will introduce to the benighted negro the light of Christianity and civilization, and rescue them from the moral darkness and physical wretchedness in which that continent has, since the creation of the world, been buried. The settlements, it is supposed, will be missionary stations from which Christian ministers may operate upon the African; while the trade already commenced between the natives and the settlers, and the more intimate and amicable intercourse which, should the colonies prosper, will take

place hereafter, will tend greatly to impart to the negroes the advantages of civilization. Mr. Clay thus eloquently refers to this consequence of civilization. "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the Universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing to that most unfortunate portion of the Globe."

The commercial advantages to be derived from the colonization of Africa have also been urged by its friends as a cogent argument in favour of the scheme. The commerce already created is said to be valuable; and should the expectations of the friends of colonization be realized and large civilized and wealthy nations be raised up on the Western Coast of Africa, the commercial advantages to this country would, it is thought, be incalculably valuable.

The advance of the Society has perhaps been as rapid as those acquainted with the difficulties of colonization could have expected. The settlement comprises more than three thousand souls. The inhabitants are temperate and moral, but addicted to barter, and indisposed to agricultural labour. Many of the colonists have realized fortunes; but, in consequence of the neglect of agriculture, the settlement does not wear an air of permanence and comfort. Several large tracts have been added to the territory of the colony; and new and successful settlements have been made. The scheme has been extensively discussed in the periodicals of the coun-

try, and a decided feeling has been manifested in many sections of the Union in its favour. Several of the State Legislatures have extended direct pecuniary aid to promote the cause; and a number of the most able and influential men in the country continue to advocate colonization with ardour and confidence.

The project is not however without its opponents. Within a few years past this opposition has increased both in extent and ardour, and is still maintained with a vigor which endangers the efficiency and success of the scheme of colonization. So huge a scheme of benevolence, requiring immense resources, and relying almost exclusively upon individual benevolence, is not, however meritorious, prepared to sustain a vigorous and bitter opposition. Those who argue on the side of selfishness are generally considered cogent and persuasive reasoners; and when argument unites with interest and avarice to withhold the hand of charity, the sense of duty is seldom strong enough to extend it. The friends of colonization continue, however, to urge it with spirit; its collections are large; and should it survive the present opposition, it will perhaps come, strengthened and stabilitated, from the trial.

The opponents of colonization may be divided into two classes. The first is composed of the friends of immediate abolition. They oppose colonization, as unjust to the negro, who is, they urge, a native of this country and entitled by the law of nature to immediate and unconditional emancipation, and to a full participation in the rights of the whites, without expatriation. The other class of anti-colonizationists are those, who regard all interference with the subject of slavery as calculated to endanger the prosperity, and disturb the tranquillity of the citizens of the South.

The abolitionists have succeeded in detaching many excited religionists from the cause of colonization, and also in raising on the part of the free coloured people a strong and almost universal prejudice against the African settlement. The consequence is, that the views of the Society have been necessarily limited principally to the colonization of emancipated slaves.

Many objections are made against the scheme of African colonization, which we have not space to present. Among others, the insalubrity of the climate, the difficulties of colonization, the great length of time required to prepare the colony for the reception of any considerable number of emigrants, and the indisposition of the colonists to agricultural labour, which can alone furnish means for the support of a large population. Many of these obstacles might be obviated, but the question of the practicability of colonization would still remain undetermined. Having given the views of Mr. Clay in support of the scheme, we will extract those of Professor Dew, on the opposite side of the question. Professor Dew's arguments are intended for the State of Virginia, but are equally applicable to any of the Southern States.

"We take it for granted, that the right of the owner to his slave is to be respected, and, consequently, that he is not required to emancipate him, unless his full value is paid by the State. Let us, then keeping this in view, proceed to a very simple calculation of the expense of emancipation and deportation in Virginia. The slaves, by the last census (1830) amounted, within a small fraction, to four hundred and seventy thousand, the average value of each one of these is two hundred dollars, consequently, the whole aggregate value of the slave population in Virginia in 1830, was ninety-four

million dollars; and allowing for the increase since, we cannot err far in putting the present value at one hundred million dollars. The assessed value of all the houses and lands in the State amounts to two hundred and six million dollars, and these constitute the material items in the wealth of the State, the whole personal property besides bearing but a very small proportion to the value of slaves, lands, and houses. Now, do not these very simple statistics speak volumes upon this subject? It is gravely recommended to the State of Virginia to give up a species of property which constitutes nearly one third of the wealth of the whole State, and almost one half of that of Lower Virginia, and with the remaining two thirds to encounter the additional enormous expense of transportation and colonization on the Coast of Africa. But the loss of one hundred million dollars of property is scarcely the half of what Virginia would lose, if the immutable laws of nature could suffer (as fortunately they cannot) this tremendous scheme of colonization to be carried into full effect. Is it not population which makes our lands and houses valuable? Why are lots in Paris and London worth more than the silver dollars which it might take to cover them? Why are lands of equal fertility in England and France worth more than those of our Northern States, and those again worth more than our Southern soils, and those in turn worth more than the soils of the distant West? It is the presence or absence of population, which alone can explain the fact. It is, in truth, the slave labour in Virginia which gives value to her soil, and her habitations: take away this, and you pull down the atlas that upholds the whole system; eject from the State the whole slave population, and we risk nothing in the prediction that on the day in which it shall be accomplished, the worn

soils of Virginia will not bear the paltry price of the government lands in the West, and the Old Dominion will be a 'waste howling wilderness;'—'the grass shall be seen growing in the streets, and the foxes peeping from their holes.'

"But the favourers of this scheme say they do not contend for the sudden emancipation and deportation of the whole black population; they would send off only the increase, and thereby keep down the population to its present amount, while the whites, increasing at their usual rate, would finally become relatively so numerous as to render the presence of the blacks among us for ever afterwards entirely harmless. This scheme which at first to the unreflecting seems plausible, and much less wild than the project of sending off the whole, is nevertheless impracticable and visionary, as we think a few remarks will prove. It is computed that the annual increase of the slaves and free coloured population of Virginia is about six thousand. Let us first, then, make a calculation of the expense of purchase and transportation. At two hundred dollars each, the six thousand will amount in value to one million two hundred thousand dollars. At thirty dollars each for transportation, which we shall soon see is too little, we have the whole expense of purchase and transportation one million three hundred and eighty thousand dollars, an expense to be annually incurred by Virginia to keep down her black population to its present amount. And let us ask, is there any one who can seriously argue that Virginia can incur such an annual expense as this for the next twenty-five or fifty years, until the whites have multiplied so greatly upon the blacks, as in the *opinion* of the *alarmists*, for ever to quiet the fears of the community? Vain and delusive hope, if any were ever wild enough to entertain it! Poor old

Virginia! the leader of the *poverty stricken team*, which has been for years so heavtily dragging along under the intolerable burthen of the Federal Government, must inevitably be crushed whenever this new weight is imposed on her, in comparison with which federal exactions, are light and mild. We should as soon expect the *chamois*, the hardy rover over Alpine regions, by his unassisted strength to hurl down the snowy mantle which for ages has clothed the lofty summit of Mount Blanc, as that Virginia will be ever able by her own resources, to purchase and colonize on the Coast of Africa six thousand slaves for any number of years in succession."

"We have already shown that the first operation of the plan, if slave property were rigidly respected, and never taken without full compensation, would be to put a stop to the efflux from the State through other channels; but this would not be the only effect. Government, entering into the market with individuals, would elevate the price of slaves beyond their natural value, and consequently the raising of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the whole State. We can readily imagine that the price of slaves might become so great, that each master would do all in his power to encourage marriage among them—would allow the females entire exception from labour, that they might the better breed and nurse—and would so completely concentrate his efforts upon this object as to neglect other schemes, and less productive sources of wealth. Under these circumstances, the prolific African might no doubt be stimulated to press hard upon one of the limits above stated, doubling in numbers, in fifteen years; and such is the tendency which our abolition schemes, if seriously engaged in, will most undoubtedly produce.

They will be certain to stimulate the procreative powers of the very race which they are aiming to diminish; they will enlarge and invigorate the very monster which they are endeavouring to stifle, and realize the beautiful but melancholy fable of Sisyphus, by an eternal renovation of hope and disappointment. If it were possible for Virginia to purchase and send off annually for the next twenty-five or fifty years 12,000 slaves, we should have very little hesitation in affirming, that the number of slaves in Virginia would not be at all lessened by the operation, and at the conclusion of the period such habits would be generated among our blacks, that for a long time after the cessation of the drain, population might advance so rapidly, as to produce among us, all the calamities and miseries of an overcrowded people."

"But, say some, if Virginia cannot accomplish this work, let us call upon the general Government for aid—let Hercules be requested to put his shoulder to the wheels, and roll us through this formidable *quagmire* of our difficulties. Delusive prospect! corrupting scheme! We will throw all constitutional difficulties out of view, and ask if the Federal Government can be requested to undertake the expense for Virginia, without encountering it for the whole slave holding population? And then, whence can be drawn the funds to purchase more than 2,000,000, of slaves, worth at the lowest calculation $400,000,000? or if the increase alone be sent off, can Congress undertake, annually to purchase at least 60,000 slaves at an expense of $12,000,000, and deport and colonize them at an expense of twelve or fifteen millions more? But the fabled hydra would be more than realized in this project. We have no doubt that, if the United States in good faith should enter into the slave markets of the

country, determined to purchase up the whole annual increase of our slaves, so unwise a project, by its artificial demand would immediately produce a rise in this property throughout the whole Southern country, of at least thirty-three and a third per cent.; it would stimulate and invigorate the *spring* of black population, which, by its tremendous action, would set at naught the puny efforts of man, and, like the Grecian matron, unweave in the night what had been woven in the day. We might well calculate upon an annual increase of at least four and a half per cent. upon our two millions of slaves, if ever the United States should create the artificial demand which we have just spoken of; and then, instead of an increase of 60,000, there will be 90,000, bearing the average price of $300 each, making the enormous annual expense of purchase alone 27 millions! and difficulties, too, on the side of the colony, would more than enlarge with the increase of the evil at home. Our Colonization Society has been more than fifteen years at work; it has purchased, according to its friends, a district of country as congenial to the constitution of the black as any in Africa; it has, as we have seen, frequently over-supplied the Colony with emigrants; and mark the result, for it is worthy of all observation—there are now not more than 2,000 or 2,500 inhabitants in Liberia; and these are alarmed lest the Southampton insurrection, may cause such an emigration as to inundate the Colony. When, then, in the lapse of time, can we ever expect to build up a colony which can receive sixty or ninety thousand slaves per annum? And if this should ever arrive, what guarantee could be furnished us that their ports would always be open to our emigrants? Would law or compact answer? Oh, no! some legislator in the plentitude of his wisdom, might arise, who could easily and truly persuade

his countrymen that these annual importations of blacks were *nuisances*, and the laws of God, whatever might be those of men, would justify their abatement. And the drama would be wound up in this land of promise and expectation, by turning the cannon's mouth against the liberated emigrant and deluded philanthropist. The scheme of colonizing our blacks on the Coast of Africa, or any where else, by the United States, is thus seen to be more stupendously absurd than even the Virginia project. King Canute the Dane, seated on the sea-shore, and ordering the rising flood to recede from his royal feet, was not guilty of more vanity and presumption than the Government of the United States would manifest, in the vain effort of removing and colonizing the annual increase of our blacks. So far from being able to remove the whole annual increase every year, we shall not be enabled to send off a number sufficiently great to check even the *geometrical rate of increase*. Our black population is now producing sixty thousand per annum, and next year we must add to this sum eighteen hundred, which the increment alone is capable of producing, and the year after, the increment upon the increment, &c. Now, let us throw out of view for a moment, the idea of grappling with the whole annual increase, and see whether, by colonization we can expect to turn this geometrical increase into an arithmetical one. We will then take the annual increase 60,000, as our capital, and it will be necessary to send off the increase upon this, 1,800, to prevent the geometrical increase of the whole black population. Let us then, for a moment, inquire whether the abolitionists can expect to realize this *petty advantage*.

"Mr. Bacon admits that 1,000 emigrants now thrown into Liberia would ruin it. We believe that

every reflecting, sober member of the Colonization Society, will acknowledge that five hundred annually, are fully as many as the colony can now receive. We will assume this number, though no doubt greatly beyond the truth; and we will admit further, what we could easily demonstrate to be much too liberal a concession, that the capacity of the Colony for the reception of emigrants, may be made to enlarge in a geometrical ratio, equal to that of the rate of increase of the blacks in the United States. Now with these very liberal concessions on our part, let us examine into the effect of the Colonization scheme. At the end of the first year, we shall have for the amount of the 60,000, increasing at the rate of three and a-half per cent., 61,800; and subtracting 500 we shall begin the second year with the number of 61,300, which, increasing at the rate of three and a-half per centum, gives 63,139 for the amount at the end of the second year. Proceeding thus, we obtain, at the end of twenty-five years, for the amount of the 60,000, 101,208. The number taken away, that is the sum of $500+500\times1,003+500\times1,003^2$ &c. will be 13,197. It is thus seen that, in spite of the efforts of the Colonization scheme, the bare annual increase of our slaves, will produce 41,208 more than can be sent off; which number of course must be added to the capital of 60,000; and long, *very long*, before the Colony in Africa, upon our system of calculation ever could receive the increase upon this accumulating capital, its capacity as a recipient would be checked by the limitation of territory and the rapid filling up of the population, both by emigration and natural increase. And thus by a simple arithmetical calculation, we may be convinced that the effort to check even the geometrical rate of increase, by sending off the increment upon the annual increase of our

slaves, is greatly more than we can accomplish, and must inevitably terminate in disappointment—more than realizing the fable of the frog and the ox—for in this case we should have the frog *swelling*, not for the purpose of rivalling the ox in *size*, but to *swallow him down horns and all!*

"Seeing, then, that the effort to send away the increase on even the present increase of our slaves, must be vain and fruitless—how stupendously absurd must be the project, proposing to send off the whole increase, so as to keep down the negro population at its present amount! There are some things which man arrayed in all his "brief authority"—cannot accomplish, and this is one of them. Colonization schemers, big and busy in the management of all their *little machinery* and gravely proposing it as an *engine*, by which our black population may be sent to the now uncongenial home of their ancestors, across an ocean of thousands of miles in width, but too strongly reminds us of the vain man, who, in all the pomp and circumstance of power, ordered his servile attendants to stop the rise of ocean's tide by carrying off its accumulating waters. Emigration has rarely checked the increase of population, by directly lessening its number—it can only do it by the abstraction of capital and by paralyzing the spring of population,—and then it blights and withers the prosperity of the land. The population of Europe has not been thinned by emigration to the New World—the province of Andalusia in Spain, which sent out the greatest number of emigrants to the Islands and to Mexico and Peru, has been precisely the district in Spain which has increased its population most rapidly. Ireland now sends forth a greater number of emigrants than any other country in the world, and yet the population

of Ireland is now increasing faster than any other population of Europe!"

The scheme of colonization has been popular in this country, and is still clung to with partial fondness. Those who are prejudiced against domestic slavery and averse to the presence of a negro population in the country, and who regard the mad project of emancipation in its proper light, view the plan of colonization as the only remedy for what they consider a national evil. They are perhaps correct in regarding it as the best plan which has been suggested: but whether the object desired—the removal of the negro race from this country—be within the scope of any justifiable exertion of human energy, remains to be determined. Many of the objections urged against colonization might be obviated. There is no necessity for adhering to the present experiment if a better can be suggested. If the object desired can be better, easier, or sooner attained by colonization elsewhere, than in Africa; if a healthier or cheaper site can be selected, there is no reason why Liberia should not be abandoned. It is unfair to argue against the scheme from the errors and misfortunes of the present colony—errors and misfortunes from which another colony might be exempt. That colonization is practicable, every page of history demonstrates. Our own existence answers all objections on that score. The success of the English at New South Wales, and in all sections of the habitable world, proves that large and flourishing colonies, sufficient for the bases of future empires, may, even by a moderate exertion of the energies of a commercial nation, be established. But the question of the practicability of removing the negro race, or its increase, from this country, remains to be settled. The great obstacles alleged, those which no change of the plan

could obviate, and which appear appallingly formidable are, briefly, as follows:

1. The expense of the scheme. To purchase and transport 60,000 slaves annually (and the increase is now more than that number) would cost, it is supposed, $25,000,000. How is this to be raised? Private benevolence cannot even attempt it. The slave-holding States will not undertake it, for it is not only beyond their power, but would, if attempted, utterly ruin them. Shall the General Government undertake it? The Constitution will not sanction it. If it would, or if it could be changed, where or how could that sum be raised? A direct tax would not be borne. If raised by duties on imports, the burthen would fall upon the South and a double ruin be thus visited upon that hapless and persecuted section of our country. The sale of public lands would in the last resort be looked to; and if adequate to the object, would only be an indirect mode of impoverishing the country. Our people possess such elasticity and enterprize, that they can bear what would crush any other: but could they, without the worst afflictions, endure the loss of the labouring population of the South, and pay for that loss at the rate of upwards of 25 million dollars per annum, for an indefinite period?

2. The second obstacle is the difficulties attendant on colonization under the most favourable circumstances; the fearful expense of nursing an infant colony into vigor; and the very great time that must elapse before it can have attained sufficient maturity to bear an annual access of 60,000 to its numbers.

3. The habits of the negro render it doubtful whether a successful colony of that race can ever, under the most auspicious circumstances, be effected. They *will not work without compulsion;* and

colonization requires severe and continued toil. If the negro, when left to himself, can be induced to labour, or withheld from relapsing into barbarism—it remains to be proven. No such case has yet occurred.

4. Will the South consent to relinquish her slaves? Will she consent to contribute her own money to buy her own property? Is she convinced, or can she be persuaded to believe, that her lands can be cultivated without negro labour? or could she consent to relinquish that labour without seeing her rich soil relapse into a wilderness?

5. The great difficulty, however, appears to be, the tendency of the natural increase to swell with the increase of the deportation. The law of population, by which the chasm left in a country by emigration is filled up by the increased activity of procreation, appears to be generally conceded, and is beyond the reach of philosophers and legislators. Unless the position assumed by the anti-colonizationists on this point can be refuted, apprehensions may be rationally entertained that the effort made to remove the slave population will only tax and enfeeble the country, without advancing one step towards the result desired.

Whatever may be the advantages or disadvantages of colonization, recent events have made the South indisposed to the agitation of emancipation in any of its shapes. At present the South is satisfied with her domestic institutions, and seeks no change. In answer to the colonizationists of the North, she bids them proceed in their work, colonize their own free blacks, the most degraded, dangerous, and unhappy population in our country—and when that is effected, it will be time to decide on the proposal of emancipating and deporting the slaves of the South. If it be urged that the free

blacks have a right to choose for themselves, and decline emigration, it may be answered, that, if the slave has a right to freedom, he may demand it unconditionally, and would be equally averse to leaving his native land. Unless the scheme of colonization can offer advantages sufficient to invite emigration, it must be abandoned, or sustained by coercive transportation, and in reference to the adoption of such measures, the different sections of our country are situated alike. If the deportation of the blacks be expedient, practicable, and proper, let the North so approve it by the colonization of their blacks—and the South will be then better enabled to determine upon the scheme.

We cannot, however, dismiss this subject, without doing justice to the motives and feelings of the founders and friends of colonization. The scheme was conceived in an anxious and enlarged spirit of patriotism. Its objects are such as appeal, with irresistible force, to the heart of every American, Christian, and philanthropist. Its friends have manifested in its support a zeal, liberality, and disinterestedness which cannot be sufficiently praised. That such a scheme should have received, from the voluntary contributions of individuals, a sufficient sum to advance it to its present stage, is a fact honourable to the American people; and those who have yielded the colony, in this country, their disinterested support—those who have, on the pestilential shores of Africa, fallen victims to the cause—merit the gratitude and veneration of every friend of humanity. Time must determine the success of their efforts; but of their justice, purity, and patriotism, the white man and the slave, the North and South, America and Africa, will unite to bear grateful testimony.

CHAPTER XII.

Abolition of Slavery in the United States. Objects and designs of the Abolitionists.

We will now consider the scheme of emancipation—a scheme which, but a few years since, found our country united, tranquil and happy, and which, in that brief period, has planted in her bosom distrust, jealousy, rage and terror—which has endangered the industry of the North, the security of life in the South, and has shaken to its very centre the Government of our common country.

The object of those who have espoused the cause of the slave is averred to be emancipation. They pronounce his bondage a sin against heaven, and claim the freedom of every negro in the country—young and old, male and female, ignorant and educated. Universal and sweeping emancipation is the object of their efforts; and they express their determination never to remit their exertions until the two millions of slaves in the South are released from all restraint.

This emancipation is claimed *immediately*. They will not submit to any gradual measures for the attainment of their wishes. The word is to be spoken by these necromancers in philanthropy, and the chains of the 2,250,000 slaves are to be shivered, as by one blow. The negro is to be instantaneously released, and turned forth, without the intelligence to direct his conduct, the habits of self

restraint to withhold him from the brutal gratification of animal passions, or even the means of saving himself from starvation. When asked, what will be the consequences of so mad and precipitate a movement, they inform us that consequences do not enter into their calculations—slavery is a sin, of which the slave-holder should repent, not gradually, but at once—the consequences of his repentance rest with Providence. That we may not misrepresent their views on this important point, we give the following extract from one of the publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"*The safety of the remedy.*

'Oh, but immediate emancipation would be unsafe,—the slave would butcher his master and fill the land with rapine and murder.'

Suppose, said Mr. S. the intelligence should reach this city to-day that the slaves had risen in insurrection and were scattering dismay and death through the South. *Would not the veriest child know the cause?* 'THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR FREEDOM' would be the universal cry. Give the slave his freedom, then; will he fight because you give it to him? First, he fights because he is robbed of liberty, and when it is restored, he fights because he's got it."

The following is from the Anti-Slavery Reporter:—"Gradual Abolition, an indefinite term, but which is understood to imply the draining away drop by drop of the great ocean of wrongs,—plucking off at long intervals some straggling branches of the moral Upas—holding out to unborn generations the shadow of a hope which the present may never feel,—gradually ceasing to do evil; gradually refraining from robbery, lust and murder:

—in brief, obeying a short-sighted and criminal policy rather than the commands of God."

The immediate emancipation, thus claimed for the blacks, is required to be unconditional. They admit no restraint upon the negro. He is to be turned loose at once. No barrier, no bond, no check,—nothing to guard the negroes from their own improvidence and passions, nothing to protect the master or his wife and daughters from the savage passions, the lust, revenge and cruelty of the brutal and unchained slave. The abolitionists have no doubt read of the Roman Senators who opened their gates to the Gauls, and received them in state, expecting to subdue their fierce passions into awe and gentleness; they have perhaps heard also of the fanatic, who, in the confidence of religious insanity, caused himself to be exposed to lions. They have, however, it seems, forgotten that the Romans were slaughtered and their city burned; and that the poor bigot was devoured without scruple by the hungry lions. They would, with the same confidence and the same wisdom, unloose the ignorant negro upon the fair and gentle ones of the South, and, *standing at a safe distance*, would watch the result of the fearful experiment!

The following is another extract from the publication quoted above.

"*Turning loose.*

'But would you turn the slave loose?' Loose! What does the objector mean? Turn the slave loose! No. We turn freemen loose. We dont unchain the tiger, but we strike off his chain, and by that act make him a lamb, and then turn him loose."

Such is the childish and wretched device by which the abolitionists evade an objection so startling, so awful, so full of calamity to the race, that

it would shake a fiend from his purpose, and visit his bosom with the strugglings of remorse and compassion. The abolitionist, however, when told that he is about to deluge his native land with blood, receives the warning with a quibble, and turns tranquilly to his work of horror.

The emancipation, thus urged, is expected to be attained without compensation to the master. It is of no consequence that not merely individuals, but States, would be thus beggared; that those gentle beings, who have been nurtured with all the solicitude of affection, and treated with the homage of Southern chivalry—that those fair creatures, whose guardians

> Would not permit the winds of Heaven
> Visit their cheeks too roughly,—

thus fostered, are, by Northern philanthropists to be plunged into the most sordid poverty, and, as they are inferior to the blacks in capacity for toil, to be degraded beneath those who have heretofore ministered to their wants. The slave-holder, says the abolitionist, is a "robber," a "felon," a "man-stealer," &c., and has no right to expect that, when deprived of his victim, he will be paid for his past crimes in the shape of compensation or ransom! The fanatics are marvellously philanthropic: they would beggar and ruin the citizens of the South to realize their childish abstractions; but have not yet attained that point of delusion which would prompt them to bear a share of the burthen. Men can afford to be charitable, who give away the property of others; and none urge self-denial so ardently as those who are not called upon to participate in the sacrifice. The abolitionists, in advocating emancipation without compensation, do not forget, but do not regard, the fact, that the slaves have fallen into

the hands of their present owners as *property*, that the laws of the Southern States, the laws of the General Government, and even the laws of the Northern States, regard them and respect them, *as property*. These facts are wholly immaterial to the abolitionists. The obligation of justice, the sanction of the laws, the rights of humanity, are subjects of equal indifference to those who are prepared to stride over the graves of millions of their brethren, over the ruins of their Government and country, to the consummation of their visionary and perilous schemes.

But the abolitionists do not pause at emancipation. Their demands go further. They require for the slave, not merely his freedom, but an elevation to all the political privileges of his master. It may be observed that the abolition party is constituted mostly of men, who are opposed to an extension of the political powers of the whites, to universal suffrage, and to that policy which contemplates political equality; they have generally been found opposed to what are considered the liberal doctrines and measures of this country, and are, in some cases, the remains of those who opposed the American revolution: yet, when the blacks are interested, their fears of popular power vanish; the ignorance of the blacks, their incapacity, their want of political or moral principles constitute no objections to their political elevation. This disposition, it will be seen, is manifested throughout, by the abolitionists. They have, from some strange perversion of nature, acquired an affection for the black which has blunted their sensibilities for their own race; and, in case of opposing interests, they uniformly espouse the cause of the negro against the white man.

In claiming, for the blacks of the South, political equality with the whites, they of course include the

right of arming and disciplining themselves. The negroes might, therefore, immediately after the consummation of the abolitionist's designs, meet and make arrangements for the military execution of the whites. With the sanction of the law, with arms, ammunition, discipline, and savage ferocity, they would probably outdo the horrors of St. Domingo. But what is that to the pious abolitionists?

The right of suffrage, and the right to hold office, are of course included in the benevolent scheme of the fanatics. The first fruits of abolition would be the extensive emigration of the whites. The blacks would be thus rendered a majority; and going to the polls with their prejudice against the rival race, (a prejudice which no power under Heaven has removed, or can remove, in any country) the whole civil and military power would fall into their hands. Of the extent of their qualifications for the safe exercise of this power, it is unnecessary to speak; but with this mass of ignorance, prejudice and savage passion in the high places of the Southern Governments, what would become of the whites? The abolitionists neither know nor care. Nor is the North wholly uninterested in this view of the case. A number of the States of our republic would become negro communities; they would send black representatives into Congress; and as they would, probably, by their close union against the whites, attain great power, they might give us a black President. "To this COMPLEXION must we come at last!"

Should the reader be incredulous on the points referred to, should he consider it impossible that human delusion, even under the impulses of a heady fanaticism, can rush into absurdities so gross, and disgusting, we will, to determine his doubts, refer him to the organs of the party, to the declarations of their conventions, to the resolutions of their

meetings, to the articles of their Constitutions, and to the freely expressed sentiments of the advocates and supporters of the abolition scheme.

Another object has been extensively attributed to them. We refer to the sexual amalgamation of the two races. We are unwilling to press this charge. The design, has, without a doubt, been freely avowed by some individuals among the abolitionists, and tacitly countenanced by many more. It is well known, that in New York the prominent and wealthy advocates of abolition have given dinners, and other parties, at which the sexes, and races were studiously mingled. It is well known, that the social habits of many encourage the most intimate, equal, and familiar intercourse between the two colours of different sexes. It is well known, that matrimonial connexions of the unnatural character referred to, have not been discouraged; and that, though the abolitionists have been frequently and forcibly charged with the design of encouraging such connexions, their denials have been but late, faint, and partial.* From all these facts it is difficult to escape the belief that the abolitionists, if not decidedly and actively favourable to amalgamation, are by no means opposed to it.

* "Let it be *the glory* of our SONS AND DAUGHTERS," says one of the reports of Anti-Slavery Society, "to have been educated in Seminaries which were open to worthy applicants, *without regard to complexion.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

Character of Prominent Abolitionists—Garrison, Tappan, Thompson, &c.—*General character of the party.*

But a few years have elapsed since the commencement of the abolition movement. It originated in a few heated and disturbed minds, and was urged in the face of every obstacle. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Lundy, and some others, who conceived themselves the chosen instruments of accomplishing abolition, proclaimed their peculiar doctrines with an ardour, which, if it did not excite respect, at least attracted attention. Garrison, the most talented and rabid of the corps, soon became notorious. In the fury of his zeal he did not scruple to borrow the aid of fiction; and, at times, indulged his talent for invective, at the expense of truth, and of the character of respectable citizens. The difficulties into which this unfortunate propensity plunged him, only excited his ardour anew. The strict confinement and low diet to which the irreverend administrators of the law consigned him, did not allay the violence of his zeal. He regarded his misfortune as a partial martyrdom. It certainly had one advantage—it lifted him to an elevation which, like that of the pillory, rendered him the observed of all observers. He renewed his denunciations with spirit. He raved, and the world laugh-

ed; but in the end he proved that, so ricketty and unstable a thing is the world, even the efforts of a madman can disturb it. He gained disciples—what fanatic ever raved without converts?—and soon became an object of attention to the crack-brained enthusiasts and antiquated ladies of the whole land. The Colonization Society had, by agitating the subject, prepared the country for the coming of this second Peter the Hermit; and the crusade preached by him against the institutions of the South, found supporters and advocates. At length, he enlisted a sufficient force in behalf of abolition, to enable him to visit England, and crave foreign influence against the laws and lives of his fellow countrymen. England was herself reeling under the potions of quacks and enthusiasts, and lent a willing ear to the crazed abstractions, wild appeals, and exaggerated statements, of Garrison. He found himself in his element. He preached against his country to applauding multitudes; he denounced Washington as a robber, because a slave-holder; characterized the American Constitution as a guilty and blood-stained instrument, because it recognized the domestic laws of the South; and, in short, indulged, to his heart's content, in foul and frothy invective against all that is dear and sacred to Americans. Having sufficiently blackened his country abroad, he returned to renew his treasonable efforts at home. He was received by the fanatics with rapture; and the work was resumed with fresh ardour. The efforts of these conspirators, at their midnight meetings, where the bubbling cauldron of abolition was filled with its pestilential materials, and the fire beneath kindled by the breath of the fanatics, has often reminded us of the witch scene in Macbeth. Their chorus is peculiarly in character for the amalgamationists.

"*Black spirits and white,*
Red spirits and gray,
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may."

It requires no excited imagination to conceive them gathered in their secret councils, where, at first, a few half-crazed enthusiasts, with a bevy of female fanatics, met to hatch and prepare this precious scheme. In such a conclave, assembled for such a purpose, the incantation of the scene referred to, would have been wholly appropriate.

"For a charm of powerful trouble,
Like a hell-broth, boil and bubble.
Double, double, toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble!"

In these scenes we may suppose that Garrison, gloomy, wild, and malignant, was the ruling spirit. His religious madness, his vehement cant and violence of spirit naturally gained for him the mastery in their councils. Whatever may be the character of his coadjutors, Garrison has, in his whole career, betrayed the worst purposes allied to the worst passions. His writings have been blackened with the vilest slanders, and the most vindictive abuse. Indeed, so vehement, rancorous and fiend-like have been his exhibitions of passion against his opponents, that most persons have considered, and do still consider, him insane. It is a probable and certainly a charitable supposition; for if he is to be considered as strictly accountable for his ravings, he must be held in general execration. The following extract from his writings is a specimen of his style, and certainly affords no evidence of the soundness of either his head or his heart. He addresses the slave-holders. The reader will be reminded of the celebrated sermon of Maw-worm.

"Ye crafty calculators! Ye hard-hearted incorrigible sinners! Ye greedy and relentless robbers! Ye contemners of justice and mercy! Ye trembling, pitiful, pale-faced usurpers! My soul spurns you with unspeakable disgust!"

The style of Garrison is turgid, but often effective. His compositions appear intended to operate principally upon the ignorant blacks; and are filled with declamation, denunciation and cant. In abusing his opponents, he exhibits a frantic and frontless disregard of the decencies of the press. In advocating his doctrines, he pauses at no difficulty. If good men sanction slavery—they are robbers; if the Constitution maintains it—it must be crushed; if the Union is an obstacle—it must be overthrown. He never writes without raving; he even reasons like a bedlamite; and in his paper, which has great influence over the blacks, he has done much to excite a spirit of insubordination and violence.

Until recently, these outrages were allowed to pass unpunished; but the time has at length arrived when a wronged and insulted people will no longer permit these madmen to tamper with the peace and welfare of our country. The citizens of Boston recently took possession of the person of Garrison, with a view to summary punishment, and were only deterred by compassion, from bestowing on him the honorary ointment and robe which has, time immemorial, been decreed in the East to traitors. He was, however, committed to prison as a protection from the just indignation of the people, and in the morning escaped from the city in disguise.

Perhaps, after Garrison, the noted Arthur Tappan solicits the next place in the roll of the abolitionists. He is a well known and wealthy merchant of New York, who has become affluent by

the patronage of those whom he is so eager to expose to the horrors of a servile insurrection. He is generally described as an amiable, weak, well-meaning man, whose limited portion of intellect has been turned topsy-turvy by religious excitement. He has not sufficient mind to originate, or resist, any religious delusion. He is made the dupe of every fanatic or impostor, who thunders religious denunciations in his ears. New York appears to have been for some years afflicted with a prevailing tendency to fanaticism. Not a fanatic so stupid, but in New York he could find admirers; not an impostor so degraded, but in New York he could enlist followers. Nor has this weakness been confined to the ignorant alone. Col. Stone's life of Matthias, informs us, that the delusion has ascended to the very highest ranks of society; and even Matthias found his dupes and victims among the intelligent and wealthy merchants of New York. Of this class of fanatics, perhaps the most distinguished is the President of A. A. S. Society. The able and fearless editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, a print that merits the gratitude of every Southron, for its early, consistent and inflexible opposition to the abolitionists, in an article on Fanaticism, holds the following language.

"Let our fathers of families—our upright, honest educated, thousands be convinced, and act while there is yet time for action! Let them shut up the doors of their houses, and of their hearts, against *all* fanatics, for all are evil—all are mad! Whether beginning by advocating the claims, which all good men allow, of temperance, they proceed from step to step, till they reach the mad insanity of stigmatising the Redeemer—like the Pharisees of old, as a wine-bibber and a glutton. Whether

starting with a society for the suppression of prostitution, they end by advocating promiscuous intercourse and unlimited concubinage!—or whether, pretending a zeal for the unhappy negroes, they tread the path that must inevitably lead to discord, and to civil war, with all its kindred horrors of rape, and sack and slaughter. And let them hear this too, those who deem it unconstitutional and unjust to crush this reptile in the egg—let them hear this! The man who set on foot the madness of Matthias, and the man who is now whetting myriads of swords for civil massacre, from one end to the other of these powerful and peaceful United States, IS ONE AND THE SAME! Tappan the founder of the Magdalen Societies of 1832—the causer of McDowall's infamous publications—the original head of that sect whence sprung the followers of Matthias; Tappan the head of the abolition societies of 1835!—whither his teachings led in the first instance, we have seen;—whither his teachings now shall lead futurity alone can prove, although it needs no prophet's eye to pierce the secret.

"O! if that man be virtuous—if he have a heart—if he have human feeling—let him pause. He has seen, he *must know* the results of that mad zeal, which he then set on foot, although we well believe, he dreamed not of its terrible effects. He has witnessed the guilt of those wretched victims—and his own heart, his own conscience—if he have a heart, or conscience—must tell him that *he* is in truth the origin of all this ruin. And if it be so—if the religious zeal to which he then, piously we will believe and for good purposes, gave its first stimulus, has produced results the most opposite to *his* intentions;—if it has disappointed his wishes, while it has confirmed the opinions all wise men

even then entertained of it,—will he not pause, and consider—that this cry of abolition, to which he has *now* piously and for good purposes, given its first stimulus, may in like manner produce results the most opposite to his intentions;—may in like manner disappoint his wishes, and confirm the present predictions of all, who are not, like him, blinded by overweening confidence in their own self-idolizing sanctity."

It may be doubted, notwithstanding Mr. Tappan's fanaticism, whether his piety would have pressed him into so conspicuous a station among the abolitionists, had not another passion pleaded in its favour. Weak men are generally vain. Incapable of great or useful ambition; they cherish a pruriency for praise, or an anxiety to escape from their natural insignificance, by notoriety of any kind. Even abuse is grateful to them, for it is an acknowledgment of their importance; the praise and censure incurred by Mr. Tappan are acceptable incense to him, and are purchased cheaply by his large contributions to the abolitionists. He finds himself rendered, by his connection with them, "a marvellous proper man," and clings with delight to a cause which has ministered so successfully to the little vanity of a feeble and contracted mind.

Our attention is next directed to George Thompson, occasionally dignified with the title of the *Reverend George Thompson*, and otherwise simply designated as *George Thompson, Esquire, from England.* Who, it will be asked, is this foreigner, and what does he here? The answer will flush every American cheek with shame and indignation.—

The first knowledge we have of Thompson, is as lecturer in England on Slavery in this country. How he acquired any knowledge of the subject, or how he was interested in it, we are left to conjec-

ture. But we see by the Manchester Times, of August 2, 1834, that Thompson, at a great meeting in that city asserted that a slave-holder in this country, possessing five hundred slaves, in addition to his own vote, threw into the ballot box three hundred more to represent three fifths of his property. His geography appears to have been equal to his other accomplishments, as he gravely informed that intelligent audience, that the United States "consisted of twenty-four states exclusive of three small Districts called Columbia," and detailed the manner in which "slaves were *smuggled* up the *rivers* of that territory for the purpose of supplying the markets!" But plain misrepresentation constitutes but a slight portion of his claims to our regard. The burthen of his song in England was abuse of this country.* Among other matters he stated, upon

* The following is a copy of a letter, from a highly respectable gentleman in Manchester, England, and was originally published in the New York Courier and Enquirer.

"*Manchester July* 29, 1834.

Dear Sir—My object in writing at the present time is to inform you that a *vile Fanatic* by the name of THOMPSON, is about to visit the United States, under the patronage of (as I am informed) Mr. Arthur Tappan, and a few men of that clique.

Mr. Thompson gave a lecture last evening upon the subject of slavery in America, *during which he took occasion to* SLANDER *the country* MOST VILELY, *and told many falsehoods too gross to be repeated.* Mr. B. W. Richards, (the late respected Mayor of Philadelphia,) was present, and told me this day that he was upon the point of getting up and telling him his statements were *false*, but was only restrained from so doing by being a stranger in a strange land. My only object in writing you is to inform you and the intelligent readers of your paper, that Mr. Thompson embarks in the ship United States, (the packet of the 8th August) and put them on their guard against his proceedings. I am as much

one occasion, that female slaves were publicly sold by weight in this country; and scrupled not to make the institutions of the United States the subject of the most vehement abuse. So much for his public character. It may now be well to inquire into the private standing of this favourite and foreign maligner of our people and institutions. The individual who has the presumption to land upon our shores, and go from city to city to denounce our people and laws, should be immaculate himself—elevated so far above ordinary humanity, as to be worthy to rebuke even the most exalted of his fellow beings. What are the facts? From rumours afloat, in relation to his former character, it was considered necessary to make some inquiries in his native country. The following paragraph, extracted from a respectable daily journal of Philadelphia, will exhibit the result of this investigation.

"SERIOUS CHARGE.—The Editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, says that he is authorized to state that the proofs of Mr. George Thompson's embezzlement of moneys from Messrs. Marshal & Dale, of London, for which he was dismissed from their employ, and but for their forbearance would have been sent on a mission to Botany Bay, as also the proofs of his expulsion from the literary and scientific institutions, &c., have arrived, and may be seen in the hands of James Jarret, Esq. They are in the shape of affidavits, taken before Thomas Aspinwall, Esq. U. S. consul for the city of London."

From this it appears, that the man who has arro-

opposed to slavery as Mr. Thompson or any other person can be, yet I am not willing that he or any other foreigner should interfere in our concerns at all. Very respectfully, Your obedient servant."

gantly presumed to stand upon our own soil and malign the people and institutions of our country, is a vagabond, an outcast, a felon, one who owes his exemption from the most infamous penalty of the English laws, not to his innocence, but to the forbearance of those from whom he *embezzled money!*

How, it will be asked, did Thompson assume his present prominent position in relation to the abolition movement? When Garrison was in England, an arrangement was made with individuals in that country, to obtain for their designs English co-operation. It will be seen hereafter, that English funds and English influence are at work to disturb and distract this country. Thompson was considered a suitable agent for such a design. Fluent, declamatory, impudent, and unscrupulous, he was peculiarly qualified for the task of fomenting discord among our citizens, and insurrection among the slaves. He was, therefore, chosen as agent by a British society, and sent over for the express and exclusive purpose of agitating this country on the subject of slavery.

On his arrival, he was received with open arms, and caressed and honoured by Tappan, Garrison, Cox, and their brethren. He immediately commenced operations; and has already traversed a large portion of the North, preaching opposition to the existing institutions of our country.

Such are the singular facts connected with the public mission of this man. A wretch who has been guilty of an infamous offence, and is prepared for any act, is selected, appointed, and paid by a British society—for what? To visit our country in a capacity worse than that of the spy, to foment discord among our people, array brother against brother, and father against son; to excite treasonable opposition to our government; to preach hatred and

hostility against our sacred Union; to excite our slave population to rise and butcher their masters; to render the South a desert, and the country at large the scene of fraternal war, weakness, suffering and crime. Such is his errand hither. Can the memory of the reader furnish him with an instance of more flagrant violation of the rights of an independent nation—of more open, gross, and insulting outrage on national intelligence, spirit, and honor? England has wronged us heretofore—but it was as an open foe; and as an open and honourable foe was she met and chastised. But the amount of former wrongs—even those which have reddened land and sea with the blood of our people—is trifling compared with the injuries contemplated in this interference. Mr. Buckingham, a member of the English parliament, lately asserted at a public meeting—"The greater proportion of the *people of England* DEMAND not merely emancipation, but the immediate emancipation of the slaves, *in whatever quarter of the world they may be found.*" Mr. Thompson is the bearer of these DEMANDS! Daniel O'Connell, shortly before the passage of the English act of abolition, declared in public: "The West Indies will be obliged to grant emancipation, *and then* WE WILL TURN TO AMERICA, and REQUIRE emancipation." It is now REQUIRED by Mr. Thompson, *the British agent!* The calamities which may ensue from these movements are anticipated with pleasure, rather than regret. The insurrection of our slaves, and the agony and horror which must ensue—the distraction of the American people, the dissolution of the American Union, the degradation of the American name—these are the aim and end of British philanthropy. In what spirit has this hostile and contemptuous interference been

received? How would a similar wrong have been received by England? Should we send emissaries into hapless Ireland to excite rebellion and war, how would they be treated? They would be consigned to the keeping of the gibbet. Had a foreign power sent an agent into this country, in the early days of the republic, to foment insurrection and discord, how would our fathers have received him? They would have regarded him as too offensive for indifference, yet too contemptible for serious resentment, and would have conferred upon him the honours of "a balmage of humble tar, and a hieroglyphic of feathers." *How have their descendants received Thompson?* They have followed him by thousands; listened, in silence, while the pensioned felon of a foreign people maligned all that is illustrious in our annals, cast reproach and shame upon our country and her institutions, and called upon our people to rise and trample upon the rights of their brethren, the legacy of our common parentage, the charter of our common country. To what must we ascribe this unworthy conduct upon the part of a portion of our people? To a respect for the foreign agent—to a traitor spirit which delights in the disgrace of our own land—or to that weakness which, with undistinguishing credulity, receives and reverences all that comes from those who wear "the livery of heaven," no matter for what purpose assumed, and use the cant and slang of hypocrisy, however destitute of all real claims to confidence or respect?

We will not enter further into an account of the leaders of the abolition conspiracy. It is unnecessary to describe the *Reverend* Dr. Beman of Troy, one of the most noisy and violent of the canting supporters of abolition, who *first sold out his slaves*, and then denounced those "who sell the

image of Jesus."* It is equally unnecessary to refer particularly to the Rev. Dr. Cox, who pro-

* The following is an extract from one of the abolition speeches of Dr. Beman.

"But, I have heard of another remedy: 'Just leave that question to the slave states. What have we of the North to do with slavery?' But, here is ground for caution. Have not we at the North our share in the government of the District of Columbia? Do we not in fact govern it. Yet that district is the central mart of the traffic in human flesh. Yes, sir, we at the North do govern slave shambles. *Our hands are not quite so clean as we have supposed.*

"My Southern brethren never heard me slander them. I am candid on this subject. Often do we hear it said, 'What do Northern people know about slavery?' Sir, *I am not a stranger to slavery.* I have resided eleven years at the South, and three or four winters into the bargain; and I know something about it. It is an immense evil. I can go, chapter and verse, with the able document that has just been read. It is even so—the very picture of slavery. Are our Southern brethren infallible? They are very kind-hearted brethren: yet some of them SELL THE IMAGE OF JESUS IN THEIR SLAVES! Are they competent judges in the case? The wise man says, 'A gift blindeth the eyes.' THEY JUDGE WITH THE PRICE OF HUMAN FLESH IN THEIR HANDS!"

The following is a copy of a Bill of sale executed by this same Reverend and consistent champion of abolition.

State of Georgia, }
Hancock county. } Know all men by these presents, that I, Nathan S. S. Beman, of the county and State aforesaid, have this day bargained and sold to Jacob Wilcox of Savannah, of the said state, THREE NEGRO SLAVES, viz. Cloe, a negro woman, about thirty-four years of age, her son George, four years of age, and her daughter Cuyline, an infant, for and in consideration of the sum of SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS, to me in hand paid, the receipt and payment of which sum in full are hereby acknowledged: and I, the said Nathan S. S. Beman, do agree to warrant and defend the right of the aforesaid negroes to him, the said Jacob Wilcox, his heirs and assigns, forever, against all claims whatever.

nounced Jesus Christ a coloured man; or to Mr. Thorne who said—"The slave States are *Sodoms* and almost every village family *a brothel.*" Or to the Reverend Mr. May, who preaches that the Constitution *ought to be violated* if counter to what *he* considers the will of Heaven; or to scores of others, whose violence and extravagance have excited, in every reasonable citizen, sentiments of alarm and disgust.

The abolition party comprises an unusual number of fervent champions—men accustomed to speaking and writing, and possessed of influence and resources to sustain their views. They are ardent, active, and united. Many are actuated by honest fanaticism; others are impelled by a sinister ambition, by hatred of the South, or by a natural proneness, "to make trouble." They are persevering, courageous where no physical danger exists, and determined, as will be seen hereafter, to urge their scheme to the greatest lengths. Opposition has naturally increased their zeal, until in the warmth of their sympathy for the negroes, they have, in many cases, actually imbibed a prejudice against their own colour. It must not be supposed that their support of their Quixotical plan of emancipation is a proof of benevolence or love of freedom. A knowledge of the character of the abolitionists will dissipate any such opinion. They have

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, this 11th day of April, 1822.

NATHAN S. S. BEMAN. [L. S.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of
Leavitt Thaxter,
Wm. Greene Macon, I. I. C.

Registered the 15th June, 1822.

PHIL. L. SIMMS, Clerk Sup'r. Court.

taken up the cause from various motives, and now maintain it from a love of contest and of notoriety, and from that hair-brained heat and invincible obstinacy that characterize fanatical warfare. Marat, Robespierre, and the monsters of the French reign of terror, were among the first and most devoted champions of abolition; but it may be doubted whether they cherished a real love of liberty or of man. Enthusiasts are as often evil as good; and when a cause like abolition is maintained in the face of an affrighted and afflicted country, and against the remonstrances and prayers of the best men in the land, the fire that warms the hearts of its frantic, angry, and head-strong champions, is seldom caught from the altars of the Most High.

CHAPTER XIV.

Policy of Abolitionists—Agitation in the North—in the South—with the slave-holders—with Slaves—Fanaticism—Female Influence—Organization—Agents—Publications—Political Influence—Revolution—Disunion—Insurrection.

The great engine by which the abolitionists expect to effect their designs, is agitation—not reason—not argument—not candid appeals to the patriotism and common sense of our people—but agitation of popular prejudices and passions. Their first effort is to raise a party in the North. They admit, for they cannot deny, that the North can, under the present constitution, have no control over the institutions of the South. Why then agitate it? Why seek to excite in the North feelings of aversion and hostility against the South? No good motive can prompt a course so indirect and unnecessary. This policy is pursued for the purpose of perverting the sentiments and feelings of the North, souring its affection for the South, cooling its attachment to the Union, and urging it into a course designed to *force* the South into emancipation. The North also offers a field peculiarly favourable to their designs. Here they do not dread the penalty of the violated law. Here they do not apprehend the fiery indignation of a people whose lives are endangered by their reckless agitation. Here, too, they find a population generally ignorant of the nature and necessity

of negro slavery at the South, and prepared, by previous prejudices, to listen to the dangerous counsels of those who oppose it. But, perhaps, a still greater inducement for making the North the present scene of their labours is, that it presents a secure position from which to operate on the South. Here they may safely plant the lever by which they hope to overthrow the institutions of the slave-holding states. Here they may mix and prepare their poisons; may arrange their magazine of incendiary weapons; and send forth their publications through the South, on their errand of insurrection and death. They are heroic men,—but not sufficiently heroic to perpetrate their offences in person. They are philanthropic,—but dare not visit the slaves and minister to their alleged wants upon the spot. They are determined to "war until death with the tyrants of the South,"—but it is no part of their philosophy to meet their foe in the face of day; they war with poison, or in the dark. They are vastly pious, they quote scripture with peculiar unction, and repeat incessantly the divine command—"GO unto all nations." But they take the liberty of modifying the command, and read it, "SEND unto all nations."

The apostles did "GO," even with the prospect of certain death before them: the abolitionists are so much more holy than the apostles, that they cannot sanction what *they* did not scruple to approve and sustain—domestic slavery—but, with all their marvellous sanctity and heroic courage, for some reason hitherto unexplained, they have not yet ventured to "GO."

In attempting to operate on the South, they tell us that their object is to waken the conscience of the slave-holder. How they can expect, by endangering the life of the slave-holder, and the security of his family, by exciting his indignation and fears,

and irritating him to madness, to gain his confidence and sway his convictions, it is impossible for us to imagine. That they have not succeeded thus far, will be admitted. Had they really desired or designed to operate favourably on the feelings or opinions of the slave-holder, would they not, after so complete a failure, have abandoned or changed their plan?

Their operations are prosecuted through the medium of the post-office. They thus avoid expense, and make the nation pay for the transportation of their incendiary pamphlets. The arteries of the body politic are thus made to disseminate those poisons which are designed to destroy it. The propriety of such a course has never been doubted by the abolitionists—honesty being a virtue altogether beneath the consideration of such exalted philanthropists. The circulation of such publications throughout many of the states of the South is a capital offence. They, conscientious men, do not violate the laws in person; but throw the offence upon the unconscious carrier of the mail. This might disturb the ethics of some people, but the violation of law is, with the fanatics, a praiseworthy act, where the motives of the offender are so pure and lofty. The publications are generally directed "to the clergyman" of the post-office town, or to the post-master. The number of individuals to whom it is directed by name is very limited.

The real object of transmitting these publications to the South is, that they may reach the slave. No one who has read their publications, particularly those designed for the South, can for a moment suppose that they are intended or expected to operate on intelligent or educated men. They are designed for the ignorant slaves. The box of anti-slavery publications intercepted on its way to the South,

and destroyed at Philadelphia, contained a large number of handkerchiefs, with inflammatory devices. Were these intended for the master? It contained also books, with representations of slaves in chains, suffering under the lash. These, also, we are to believe, were designed for the intelligent planters of the South. The fact that they were not directed to the slaves, is immaterial. They could not have been so directed, with a possibility of reaching their destination. They were sent in the only manner in which they could reach the slave. The mails were swelled with them—the whole South was flooded with them. They were scattered broad-cast, and overspread the South as a pestilence. How is it possible that the slave could escape them? It was not intended that he should. They were written for him, printed for him—were suited only to his capacity, were forwarded for his use, and were *intended*, as will be seen hereafter, to excite him to a forcible assertion of his freedom.

In referring to the means used by the abolitionists to effect their design of popular agitation, we must not omit their constant recourse to religious cant. They appeal, for the most part, to fanatical weakness. They do not presume to urge abolition as patriots, philosophers, or political economists: they press it almost exclusively on religious grounds, in religious phraseology, and to religious men. Their policy, in this particular, manifests a deep insight into human nature, particularly in this country, and is the great cause of their past success.

The following passages, hastily extracted from an abolition paper lying before us, exhibit the manner in which their cause is urged.

"1st. Resolved, (at one of the abolition meetings,) That slave-holding being totally at variance with Christianity, its toleration in Christian churches

is in effect saying, that righteousness hath fellowship with unrighteousness—that light hath communion with darkness—that Christ hath concord with Belial.

2d. Resolved, that the toleration of slave-holding in the church must prove fatal to vital piety.

3d. Resolved, That slave-holding is incompatible with church fellowship."

"For success in this sacred enterprize, we cease from man, and look to God alone.—In him is everlasting strength—with him the residue of the Spirit and plenteous redemption. His word has gone out of his mouth: 'For the oppression of the poor, and for the sighing of the needy, now will I rise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.' His wisdom is our guide, his power our defence, his truth our weapon, his Spirit our comforter, his promise the anchor of our souls, his approval our exceeding great reward, and his blessing upon our past labors, a sure presage of the glory to be revealed in the triumphs of a redemption which already draweth nigh. Solemnly consecrated to the cause of EMANCIPATION, IMMEDIATE TOTAL AND UNIVERSAL, we subscribe our names to this Declaration."—*Ohio Convention.*

Extract from the Speech of the Rev. Mr. Aikin.

"The responsibilities of ministers were indeed momentous—momentous as two and a half millions of human beings were valuable—momentous as heaven was important, and hell awful—momentous as the worth of the soul. Almost every thing in relation to this cause depended upon the ministers of Christ. It was so in England; little was done there until ministers were enlisted in the work. While Clarkson was sending out his thrilling appeals, and Wilberforce was lifting up his solitary

note of warning in Parliament, the ministers of the gospel were holding back. It was 'a delicate subject,' had 'political bearings,' &c.—and nothing was done, until God in his providence, *compelled* his ministers to take up the subject. Then the work went on at such a rate, that it took four men to carry the petitions which came in from all parts of the kingdom. Then Parliament began to act. And he despaired of ever seeing the great work accomplished in our own country, until the ministers of the gospel came up to it like men, with united effort and unflinching nerve."—*Emancipator.*

"Yes, it is written in the decrees of high heaven, that the injured slave shall finally be for ever free. And the church must take the lead in this great work. It has taken the lead in my own country. If legislatures do not look after it, this will not excuse the church, for deliverance must come out of Zion."—*Speech of Rev. Mr. Cox, English Abolition Emissary.*

"The cry of the oppressed—of the millions who have perished among us as the brute perisheth, shut out from the glad tidings of salvation, has gone there before us, to Him who as a father pitieth all his children. Their blood is upon us as a nation; woe unto us, if we repent not, as a nation, in dust and ashes. Woe unto us if we say in our hearts, 'The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He who formed the eye, shall He not see?' "—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

The time is hastening on when SLAVERY, in all its forms, must come to an end; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken it."—*Observer.*

"PRAYER AND ACTION GO TOGETHER.—A friend in Utica, writes us as follows:

"'Our friends in this region are becoming more

prayerful and earnest in behalf of the oppressed colored man. Our friends Boardman, Pettibone, (of Evan's Mills, Jefferson co.) and Waters, at the monthly concert of Monday evening, took hold, by prayer and addresses, with a christian and strong hand, of the glorious cause of emancipation."—*Emancipator.*

"O, Heaven! O, thou Great Eternal, is this justice! is this equity!!—Equal rights! Save, thou Great Eternal, save our country from the practice of such equal rights!!"—*Human Rights.*

"We appeal to you as Christians, as servants of the Most High God, as bearing his image, as representatives of his character, as imitators of all his imitable perfections.

"Dear brethren, will you consent to the continuance of this iniquitous and impolitic system? Will you allow to continue a bondage, more terrible in its moral and physical effects than the slavery of Egypt, the cry of which ascended unto heaven, and brought down in terrible abundance the curses of Omnipotence! Will you still support a system, (which you do, so long as you do not remonstrate against it) which, trampling the badge of Christian discipleship under its unhallowed feet, acts in daring violation of the great precept of its founder, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;' can you with any consistency ask a blessing for the diffusion of Christian knowledge whilst your own hands are tainted with the plague-spots of slavery, and whilst the accusing voice of our whole church, whispers in their ears—'Cast out the beam out of thine own eye, &c.'"—*Address of the Episcopal Church of Ohio.*

In this, as in every thing else, the abolitionists do not hesitate to go to the greatest extremes. While they denounce against slavery, and against the land

on its account, the most direful judgments; while they consign the slave-holder and all who countenance him to certain damnation; while they call upon every Christian, to come forth and aid in the prostration of Slavery—they do not shrink from the practical application of their principles, and refuse all Christian communion with those who sanction what God has sanctioned—what the laws have sanctioned—what good men in all ages have not hesitated to sanction—domestic slavery. This bold and daring step by which every man is subjected to religious proscription, who is not willing to become virtually a traitor, and join in conspiring against his country and his race, while it excites the indignation of the just, appals the weak, and has, when joined with their cant, hypocrisy and fanaticism, added greatly to the religious power previously enlisted beneath their banner. This success encourages them to a more ostentatious exhibition of fanatical fervor. Their columns are almost nasal with cant; and it might be supposed, from the aspect of their publications, that the days of Cromwell were revived, and that his fanatical followers, heated into tenfold fury, were abroad in the land.

It is not however merely to religious feelings that they appeal. They publish statements of the condition of the slaves in the South, made up, either of utter falsehoods, or of artful exaggerations, and calculated to excite the deepest sympathy in their behalf. Particular narratives, embodying fictitious cases of unnatural oppression, are extensively circulated; and poetical and pictorial representations are added to complete the sinister appeal. It is unnecessary to state that in all this the boldest falsehood is freely pressed into service. Representations of an equally moving character, and of equal truth, might be made up of the cases of parental cruelty, or the

barbarity of masters to apprentices, in the Northern, or any other section of our, or any other country.

The abolitionists, as another auxiliary in the attainment of their ends, have succeeded in enlisting female societies in their support. They sew for the cause; collect money for it; and render it all the aid which extraordinary zeal, combined with activity and leisure, can yield. When the most profound intellects in our country regard this exciting and momentous subject with awe, we cannot, without regret, see ladies rushing boldly into it. They forget that it is a political subject of the most important character: and, easily led away by the religious appeals of the abolitionists and the gentle and generous, but in this case misguided, promptings of their own nature, they unreflectingly lend their aid to designs, the tendency and consequence of which they are incapable of understanding. Politics is not the sphere in which the sex is either useful or honored; and their interference with subjects of this character, if sufficiently important to have *any* influence, must have an evil one. It is peculiarly to be regretted, that the false eloquence of the abolition preachers could ever have attained such influence over them, as to render them forgetful of the situation of their fair and gentle sisters of the South. Have they studied the history of St. Domingo; and are they prepared to let loose upon the refined and innocent ladies of the South, the savage negro, incapable of restraint, and wild with ungovernable passions? Are they aware of the present apprehensions of the females of the slave-holding states; and are they willing to add another to the fears that now haunt their pillows? It is impossible that fanaticism can so far have perverted their sympathies, or steeled the holier charities of their nature.

The *possibility* of insurrection and the negroes' saturnalia of blood and lust, should appal every female bosom, and deter them from a scheme of *benevolence* so dubious in its character, and so fearful in its consequences.*

But the eager fanatics have even sought to draw children into their ranks. For this purpose, they have encouraged the formation of children's Abolition Societies. They have also published abolition magazines and periodicals for children, filled with

* We marvel that the abstractions of the abolitionists concerning the rights of man, have never suggested to their female disciples, the propriety of asserting the rights of women. The same abstract reasoning will sustain both. "All men are created free and equal;" and why not, pray, all women? Why are they debarred the right of voting, the right of legislating, the right of holding office? Why are they made the dependants and slaves of the "lords of creation"—their civil existence, and even their name being forfeited by matrimony? Is this just dealing, in a free country? These positions are by no means novel. They have been seriously urged, as will be seen by the following extract from the Free Enquirer: "Are not all women endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Are not governments (both matrimonial and legal) 'instituted among men to secure these rights?' Do not marriages, as well as governments, 'derive their just power from the consent' of the contracting parties? 'Whenever any marriage (be it of a king to his subjects, or a husband to his wife) 'becomes destructive of these ends,' is it not right that it should be dissolved?" These views have not been left to theory. The French revolutionists, from whom the fanatics derive their notions of abolition, directly undertook to assert the rights of women. The French legislature took up this subject in 1789. "Succeeding Assemblies," says Burke in his Regicide Peace, "went the full length of the principle, and gave a license to divorce at the mere pleasure *of either party*, and at one month's notice." The reason alleged was "that women had been too long under the tyranny of parents and husbands." To such lengths will these abstractionists carry their insane zeal.

pictures, calculated to operate on the uninformed and youthful mind. Handkerchiefs, with matter of the same character, are printed and distributed. A double object is thus attained—whilst these books and handkerchiefs are adapted to their ostensible purpose, they are found equally suited to excite the ignorant slave. We will not now pause to comment on that party-spirit, which scruples not to enlist, in opposition to the established institutions of the country, the aid of women and children. Those who seek thus to carry a polical measure, can have but little confidence in their claims to the support of prudent and reasoning men.

The organization of the party is effective. It consists of the general society, and those which have been subsequently formed for the advancement of the cause. The latter are divided into state and county societies. They have already held several conventions. In these conventions blacks and whites are mingled indiscriminately.

The more direct means, by which the abolitionists operate on the popular mind, are their emissaries and agents, and their publications and pictures. Their agents are generally clergymen. They traverse the North, preaching sermons in support of abolition; and when they can muster courage, enter the South and skulk among the slaves, for the alleged purpose of preaching the Gospel, but in reality to excite discontent and opposition. The reader is aware, that several of these emissaries have been detected in the South; and that justice has been meted out to them according to their deserts. One was recently detected in the vicinity of Nashville, scattering insurrectionary prints and devices, under the pretence of distributing the cottage bible. A number of these agents are engaged in travelling through the South, and writing letters, filled with the most revolting

falsehoods in relation to the condition and treatment of the slaves.

The most powerful instrument of mischief in the hands of the abolitionists is the press. A number of books, magazines, tracts, and newspapers are published and distributed gratuitously through all sections of the Union. These publications are made up with skill and effect; and embody every thing in the shape of false statements, hollow declamation, and religious cant, which, it is supposed, can mislead or excite the unthinking.

In the accomplishment of their aims, the abolitionists do not scruple to resort to every measure calculated to influence the result. They may be already regarded as a political party. It is true, that they have not, thus far, nominated candidates, and formally entered the political arena. But they have, in those communities, where their strength warrants it, procured lists of those opposed to them, and oppose and proscribe them in political life, whenever an opportunity is afforded. Their complete union, and the secrecy of their operations, render them even now important; and should their future progress in the North equal that of the last two years, they will be enabled to raise their banner before the world. In the attitude of political partizans they cannot, with their zeal, resources, ability, and successful recourse to electioneering and religious cant and slang—fail to attain a dangerous influence and power.

We have before said, that the abolitionists regard nothing as sacred which intervenes between them and their object. If they can pervert the present government into an instrument of agitation, and succeed in their designs upon the South, they will, of course, be satisfied. But should they fail in this,

should they find the constitution of the Union an Ægis for the South, which their efforts are inadequate to shatter—they will not pause nor hesitate to change it. They have, indeed, in some of their documents avowed their disapproval of the provisions of the present constitution, and their determination to advocate such a change as will leave the South open to national legislation on the question of slavery. This change has been mostly advocated as a peaceful measure. Should the proposed reform however fail, they are prepared to make open war upon the constitution, and preach revolution. They have already made several direct advances to this position; not insidiously and with fear, but openly and before all the world. They preach that no law or constitution can be binding which is opposed to the will of heaven; and as they denounce slavery as a sin, the inference is plain, that our constitution, which sanctions it, has no binding force.

It is scarce credible that, in this happy country, men can be found willing to avow their treasonable hostility to our sacred government; yet such is the fact, as will be seen by the following extracts:

"Suppose the constitution did sanction slavery? What then? While there is a God in heaven, CAN WE BE BOUND by any *compacts* of our own, or ANY ENACTMENTS of our fellow worms, to sin against him?"—*Speech of the Rev. Mr. May, one of the leading champions of abolition.*

The following passages are from the "Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention;" and may be regarded as the solemn and official expression of the fixed principles of the party.

"The guilt of this nation is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth.

"Every American citizen who retains a human

being in involuntary bondage, is (according to scripture) *a man stealer.**

"*All those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery,* are, before God, NULL AND VOID."

This, is must be admitted, is distinct and intelligible enough.

If the South could be given up to the slaves, and the Union still preserved, the abolitionists would probably be content. But we have every evidence of their determination, that the Union, with its present institutions, shall not continue. Their whole policy betrays this sentiment. Their violation of the rights of the South; their efforts to irritate the people of the slave-holding states into acts of hostility against the Union; their anxiety to agitate the distracting subject of slavery in the United States Districts, and their thousand different schemes of incendiarism and agitation, evidence,—not an indifference to the Union—but a fixed and stern determination to overthrow it.

We have not been left to infer the existence of this disposition from their course; they have directly avowed it. The Human Rights, a paper published by the A. S. Society, says—

"Abolitionists are probably as fond of the Union as slave-holders; BUT NOT OF A UNION TO OPPRESS THE POOR. *If this Union is severed, slavery will be to blame for it.*"

This declaration is only one of innumerable expressions of a like character. It cannot be doubted that the abolitionists, instead of feeling disposed to

* If there be any such declaration in Scripture, in relation to "American citizens," or any other citizens, we have been unable to discover it. We have already shown that the scripture sanction of slavery is ample and distinct.

abandon their schemes, because dangerous to the Union, are opposed to the Union from prejudice and feeling, and determined, if possible, to overthrow it, as the great obstacle in the way of accomplishing their own mad designs.

The abolitionists have disclaimed a desire to excite insurrection among the slaves. If a man should thrust a lighted torch into a powder magazine, he would find it difficult to convince the world that he did not design to produce an explosion. The abolitionists studiously pursue a course which they know must have a tendency to excite insurrection; a course for which we can assign no other rational object—and yet assure us that it is innocent. Their Southern emissaries, their inflammatory papers, and their still more inflammatory devices, are all intended for the slave-holder! Such assertions exhibit a degree of bold presumption, of brassy assurance, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel. While they pronounce the restraints of the law upon the slave "*null and void*," while they own that their love of union does not extend to the present union, which "oppresses the poor"—while their professed principles and acknowledged practice all join to prove that servile insurrection, instead of being inconsistent with their sentiments or feelings, is a part of their policy—while all this stands manifest before us, we canot but marvel at the boldness which dares to deny their desire to see the slaves rise upon their masters, and assert their freedom at the point of the sword. Let the following extracts from their official publications speak for them on this subject:

"How long can the smiles of Heaven rest on a people who boldly and shamelessly avow their determination at all hazards to uphold the most foul and crushing system of tyranny that ever disgraced this tyrant-trodden world? But hush! we must not

speak of tyranny, lest the word should penetrate the sealed ear of the bondman! Mark the reason—aye, MARK THE REASON. It is not because your charge is FALSE—but because your words may arouse the victim. Heavens! is there in free America a class so basely, cruelly trampled in the mire, that their ears must never be saluted with a word of sympathy, that their rights must never be called in remembrance, lest they should be goaded to uncontrollable and murderous vengeance? IF SO, WE SAY, BETTER MEET THEIR VENGEANCE THAN GOD'S."

"A very important 'TRUTH' it is indeed, that the slave-holders are '*united as one man in the fixed and unalterable determination to maintain their* RIGHTS, and *defend their* PROPERTY!' Who attacks their '*rights*' or their '*property?*' Nobody. We only ask that they should restore to other people their 'RIGHTS' and 'PROPERTY.' 'Be the consequences what they may,' we *will not*, say the slave-holders. THEN YOU MUST TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES. We have done our duty.

"THE LAWS ADMITTING THE RIGHT OF SLAVERY ARE A COMPLETE EXTINCTION OF ALL THE OBLIGATIONS OF MANKIND."

"Suppose the intelligence should reach this city to-day, that the slaves had risen in insurrection, and were scattering dismay and death through the South, would not the veriest child know the cause? 'THEY ARE FIGHTING for their FREEDOM,' would be the universal cry."

"It may be supposed that the *press* can be shackled, and made to say nothing seriously offensive to slave-holders—the wildest nonsense. *To effect it the nation must pass through the crucible of anarchy into a new mode of existence.*"

The following is the conclusion of a narrative of the efforts of a slave to escape from bondage. The cause of the negro is described with apparent approbation.

"They went on board a vessel; and, during a serene evening in that delicious climate, the trader reposed himself upon the deck. In the dead of the night, the slave contrived to rid himself of his handcuffs, and groped until he grasped an axe; and, thus armed, stood over the sleeping man. He waked him and told his purpose. 'Then God have mercy on me,' said the slave-trader. 'God will not have mercy on you, neither will I,' said the slave, and beat out his brains."

We will not, by multiplying our extracts, aid in giving circulation to their ravings. We have presented sufficient to satisfy the candid reader, that the abolitionists, so far from entertaining a repugnance to insurrection, have directed their efforts to that object, and pursued a course which has, and can have, no other motive.

CHAPTER XV.

Resources and power of the abolitionists—Number of Societies—Collections—Publications, &c.

It requires no profound investigation of the character, progress, and resources of the abolitionists to convince us, that the cause of union and order has, in them, dangerous opponents. It will be seen by the following statements, mostly derived from their own publications, that their past progress has been rapid almost beyond parallel. But a few years have elapsed, since their black banner was given to the breeze. At that time the scheme was novel; and its advocates were regarded with universal contempt. To what must we ascribe their advance? To the justice of their cause, answers the abolitionist. The crusades then are to be regarded with admiration; and Mahomet and his fanatical followers, whose progress was even more rapid than the abolitionists, are also to be considered as triumphing in the justice of their cause. Joanna Southcote, too, was a true prophetess; and Matthias, by the same rule, is entitled to all the reverence which some of the fanatics of New York manifested towards him. Human nature is not always to be depended on. Few schemes of imposture or fanaticism are too gross for popular credulity; and when talents, wealth, and religious zeal or hypocrisy unite to urge a cause, it must bear features singularly repulsive if it fails to make proselytes.

The abolitionists commenced their operations at a period peculiarly fortunate for their designs. A protracted peace, our undisturbed tranquillity and growing wealth, had relaxed the love of country which once characterized our people, had engendered jealousies between different sections of our country, had encouraged religious fanaticism, and engendered a general discontent, an impatience of the monotony of the times, and a thirst for excitement, highly favourable to any scheme of agitation. This state of the popular mind has been artfully consulted, by the abolitionists. How far they have already succeeded will be seen: how far they will be permitted to carry their treasonable designs hereafter, time must make manifest.

The success of the agitators in organizing societies is almost incredible. But a few months since they were sneered at as "a few miserable fanatics." Since that time they have formed societies throughout all the non-slave-holding states; and are progressing in this organization with undiminished rapidity. The following extracts state the number of the societies to be *two hundred and fifty*—subsequent publications boast of THREE HUNDRED.

From "Human Rights."

"This new paper is not started as a means of pecuniary profit; it is not sent out by any one man. Thousands of our fellow citizens have associated in different parts of our country to obtain the freedom of the slaves,—yes, of *two and a quarter millions* of Americans, who, shame to tell it, are in this Republic slaves. Already there are numbered more than TWO HUNDRED Anti-Slavery Societies, acting through a central Society, called the "American Anti-Slavery Society."

From "Human Rights."

"PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

"Dead fish do not swim up stream. We may be sure, therefore, that when we see a tenant of the water making fine headway *against the current*, there is life in it.

"The anti-slavery cause has made progress, every body knows. Who does not remember the ridicule that was thrown upon the handful of "Fanatics" in Boston three years ago—upon the twenty-two men and *two* women in New York two years ago—upon the fifty or sixty men who met in Philadelphia a year and a-half ago—what a fine joke it was that such a handful should meet to form an *American* Society? Now this same Society numbers 250 Auxiliaries, in 13 states.

"Five of these are *State* Societies."

From the second Annual Report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, presented 15th January, 1834.

"What is now the prospect?

"A few pens, a few periodicals, a few tracts, and a few limited agencies have electrified the nation, and already stirred up a mighty host to plead and labor for the oppressed. Our cause is rapidly getting supremacy in New England. It has received accession of wealth, of talent, of free and of unconquerable zeal, that insures its speedy triumph."

From the same publication.

"In addition to that Society (American A. S. S.) and our own, (New England A. S. S.) we have a large number of male and female Anti-Slavery Societies in various parts of our land, which embrace

the names of thousands who are pledged to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. These Societies are multiplying with a rapidity which is truly astonishing."

From the Emancipator of August.

"PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY.

"Several letters announcing the formation of auxiliaries, and containing copies of constitutions and lists of officers, must be omitted for want of room. The organization of Anti-Slavery Societies is going on with most cheering rapidity.

"In Bennington, Vt., an Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the 4th of July, with 140 members. President, Stephen Hinsdill; Secretary, James Ballard. A liberal subscription was raised for publications.

"In Union Village, Washington co., N. Y., the Greenwich Aux. Anti-Slavery Society, was formed on the 4th of July. President, Henry Holmes; Secretary, Edwin Andrews. Large number of members.

"In Nunda, Livingston co., N. Y., a society was formed on the same day, with 160 members.

"At Oberlin, Loraine co., Ohio, on the 25th June, an auxiliary was formed with 230 members.

"Auxiliary societies have been also formed in the following places, not heretofore acknowledged.

Brunswick, Medina co., Ohio.
Milan, Huron co., do.
Lyme, do. do.
Kinsman, Trumbull co., do.
Hartford, do. do.
Cadiz, do.
Greenville, Mercer co., Pa.
Butler, Butler co., do.
W. Middletown, ——, Pa.
Mount Pleasant, Ohio.
Geneva, Ashtabula co., Ohio.
Morgan, do. do.
Kingsville, do. do.
Jefferson, do. do.
Huntsburgh, Georgia co., do.
Claridon, do. do.
Streetsboro', Portage co., do.
Kingston, N. H.
Ware, Mass.
Andover, Ashtabula co., Ohio.
Boscawen, N. H. (Rev. Samuel Wood, D. D., Pres.; Abraham Robertson, Cor. Sec.)

"Most of those in the above list in Ohio and Pa. were formed by the agency of Mr. James Loughhead. Mr. Joseph G. Wilson has been labouring with good success in Medina and Huron counties, Ohio. Mr. Theodore D. Weld is lecturing with his usual success in the towns on the Ohio River.

Most cheering have been the results of his labours in Washington, Pa. and Stuebenville, Ohio. In the former place he delivered *fifteen* lectures and two addresses to the colored people.

"Messrs. Phelps and Thompson have recently visited Andover, and notwithstanding the forbidding neutrality, which the authorities of the Theological Seminary have thought it important to adopt, there is a fair prospect that immediate abolition will be openly espoused at length by a large portion of the students.

"In Middlebury College, Vt., the students are sympathizing deeply in the good cause."

From "Human Rights" of September.

"NEW SOCIETIES.

"At the late meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Conference of New-Hampshire, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed of about 70 members, ministers of that denomination.

"In Northeast, Erie co., Pa., a society has been organized auxiliary to the Am. A. S. Society, with encouraging prospects.

"The following are reported as organized in R. I. by Mr. Stanton: One at Natick, 125 members; a Ladies' Society in that vicinity, 150 members; a Young Men's Society in the same neighbourhood, number of members not known; at North Scituate, 220 members; at Valley Falls, 70 members. On the 1st of August an auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Clarksfield, Ohio—John Hough, Pres. Thomas T. Husted, Sec.

"The A. S. Society of Bradford, Ms. was formed on the 27th July. Rev. Gardner B. Perry, Pres. Dr. Geo. Cogswell, Secretary."

Their collections and resources appear to be almost boundless. They are able to raise any amount necessary to prosecute, with effect, their scheme of incendiary agitation. Their prominent abettors are

generally affluent and zealous men; and it appears only necessary to vote that a certain sum is required, and it is immediately contributed. The following extract is from a late address.

"DEAR BRETHREN,—At the last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society it was

"*Resolved*, That an effort be made to raise 30,000 dollars for the use of the Society the present year, and that the abolitionists present, pledge themselves to raise such sums as they may respectively offer.

"Donations and pledges were immediately obtained, amounting $14,500.

"Additional pledges have since been obtained in Boston, to the amount of 4,000 dollars. The sum of 11,500 remains to be raised. As there are known to be more than TWO HUNDRED Anti-Slavery Societies on kindred principles with the American, we have no doubt this sum can speedily be made up.—Each society has only to raise 150 dollars, and the work is done. We believe that those societies which remain unpledged will joyfully come forward to do their proportion, as soon as called on."

This $30,000 was exclusively appropriated to the support of their publications for one year. The immense sums expended on agents, schools, &c. &c.—are raised in addition to the above. The pecuniary resources of the abolitionists, had they no other source of power, are sufficient almost to revolutionize a land. The peculiar position and character of our national Government render any direct opposition to the domestic rights of the South, dangerous; but when a large and well organized party, comprising many men of talent and energy, and possessed of pecuniary resources almost as great as those of the confederacy under which our revolutionary contest was commenced, wars directly and

openly against the rights, feelings, and even the existence of certain members of the Union—who can be so blind as not to see the consequences? Who cannot see that submission on the part of the South would end in her destruction?

The following extract from the September No. of the Human Rights, cannot fail to undeceive those who have hitherto regarded the abolitionists as a powerless band of malcontents.

"RESOURCES OF ABOLITIONISTS.—Those editors who have complimented Mr. Arthur Tappan as defraying nearly the whole expense of the American Anti-Slavery Society, are requested to examine the receipts of our Treasurer, as published in the Anti-Slavery Record. The numbers of that work, up to the present month, acknowledge the receipt of $8512,01; of which $1750 is, or might be, credited to Mr. A. Tappan. Liberal as his donations are, if he were to withhold them altogether, we believe the deficiency would not long be felt. Even the most infatuated slave-holders must be blinder than we suppose them, if they do not understand by this time, that the hearts and *purses* of tens of thousands are *devoted* to this cause."

The resources and power of the abolitionists are exhibited in the number and extent of their publications. Perhaps no party in this country ever expended as much as the abolitionists in publications intended to operate on the public mind. We are told in one of their reports, that "the society has published *one hundred and twenty-two thousand copies of various pamphlets*, besides the gratuitous distribution of copies of the Emancipator and numerous circulars. They have also assisted in the circulation of large works." The resources and

energies of a society which can, in addition to its regular expenses, circulate 122,000 copies of pamphlets, must be much greater than those of any political association, which this country has yet witnessed. The following "Plan of Publications," from the August number of the Emancipator, will exhibit the number of their regular publications and the extent of the different editions.

"This number of the Emancipator is the first of the monthly series. It will be issued to a great extent gratuitously. Already 50,000 copies of the small paper entitled HUMAN RIGHTS, have been sent forth, and 50,000 copies of the ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, for July.—The EMANCIPATOR and the SLAVE'S FRIEND will complete the series for the month. Next month the same series will be repeated."

It must be remembered that these papers are *gratuitously distributed.* Thus it will be seen that every week fifty thousand publications, made up with great skill, and containing the most inflammatory and dangerous matter—are distributed. A large portion of these, no doubt, inundate the South. The remainder are intended for those in the North, "who read but cannot reason." Who can wonder at the results effected by the abolitionists, when he contemplates the tremendous energy of the means employed?

The following statement is made by the Emancipator, of the number of papers distributed in the month of July.

"Human Rights,	50,000 copies,
A. S. Record,	50,000 "
Emancipator,	50,000 "
Slave's Friend,	25,000 "
Total,	175,000

The Slave's Friend, here mentioned, is a periodical designed ostensibly for children, but intended, beyond a doubt, in reality, to operate on the slaves. It is written in very simple language, and is decorated with inflammatory pictures. Its very title betrays its real character; and its contents prove it to be intended for the slave alone.

It must not be supposed that the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, comprise all the periodicals which sustain their principles. The following extract from the Emancipator will correct any such erroneous impression.—"Among the things that encourage us, not the least, is the rapid increase of anti-slavery presses. Nearly half the newspapers in our exchange list, about one hundred, admit articles favourable to emancipation, and a large number of them are decidedly anti-slavery. We shall endeavour soon to exhibit a list of the anti-slavery newspapers in the United States."*

It is impossible that any reasoning man, can contemplate the resources and activity of the abolitionists, and wonder at their progress. It is impossible that any patriot can view, in connection, their past success, their present energies and activity, and their future prospects, without coming to the con-

* In the list of anti-slavery publications advertised by the Society, we find upwards of fifty different publications, prints, &c., offered for sale. The following are some of the articles advertised.

"Picture of a slave in chains, with the negro's complaint, in poetry. Our countrymen in chains, with poetry, by J. G. Whittier.

"Anti-Slavery handkerchiefs, ornamented with 4 cuts, and extracts from the Slave's Friend, printed with indelible ink, price 50 cents per dozen.

"Anti-Slavery Seals, giving a fair impress of a slave in chains on sealing wax, price, single, 20 cents.

"Plaster images of a slave in chains, price, single, 50 cts."

clusion, that, either this band of traitors must be crushed, or the Union abandoned. They cannot exist together.

Let the South look to it. We have demonstrated that the advocates of abolition are neither few nor feeble; that they are wealthy, powerful and united; possessed of a number of influential presses; and led on by men whose intemperate zeal is only equalled by their untiring energy. Their strength is despised because it is not known. Let him who takes an interest in this matter examine the open evidence of facts; let him observe the extended and insidious operation of presses, agents and societies; let him mark the progress and results of these efforts for the last few years; and then, if he is still incredulous, and still secure, he may sleep on, until he is roused by the glare of the midnight conflagration, or startled by the whoops of the negro at his chamber door.

Let the North beware. Let not the wise and well affected regard the operations of the incendiaries with a sneer. The Union and its glories, the commerce and manufactures of the North, the peace and safety of the South, the tranquillity, integrity, and honour of our country are in peril—in imminent peril. If the abolitionists are permitted to make the North the scene of a warfare the most deadly upon the South—it is vain to affect ignorance of the results—separation is inevitable. We repeat, *they must be crushed or the Union abandoned.*

CHAPTER XVI.

The course of the Abolitionists prevents abolition —Aggravates the condition of the slaves, &c.

The abolitionists never deign to weigh the consequences of their actions. They determine that a peculiar course is required by an accordance with their sublimated notions of abstract right, and pursue it, wholly regardless of the results.—Are they mad, or guilty, or both? Think they that they can deluge our land with blood—and preserve their souls from the crimson taint of murder? Think they that they can unloose rapine, and lust, and slaughter upon their native country—and that her shrieks will not rise to Heaven against them? Not responsible for the consequences of their madness! It has ever been the plea of the bigot and tyrant. The darkest crimes on record have been committed under the frenzy, real or affected, of fanaticism. Cities have been wasted, realms destroyed, in the name of God. But will God hold them guiltless because profanity was added to guilt, and His holy name impiously borrowed to sanction a wanton waste of the blood of his creatures?

In the responsibility incurred by the abolitionists, the consequences of their policy to the slave, will not be the lightest article. If slavery be the evil they proscribe, how much have they to answer for in its perpetuation. If abolition be a benevolent and holy scheme, how can they be justified for the pros-

tration of every reasonable hope of final emancipation. They are the real anti-abolitionists of the land. They are the worst foes of the slave. Their madness has riveted his chains; and if his freedom be ever attained, it will be when their reckless opposition to the rights of the South is forgotten.

They admit that the slave can only be emancipated by his master. To effect that result, the master must be convinced and conciliated. What measures have they taken to persuade or win him into their views? They have trampled upon his rights—endangered his property—denounced him in the vilest billingsgate the language can afford—excited his slaves to discontent, and endangered his life, and the honour of his wife and daughters. Are not these most winning persuasives to abolition! Is not this policy certain to soothe the feelings, sway the sentiments, and insure the confidence of the slave-holder?

"The truth is, and it must be suppressed no longer—we have been hired to abet oppression, to be the tool of *tyrants*—to look on coolly, while ten millions of our brethren have been stripped of every right, and WORSE THAN MURDERED."—*First Annual Report.*

"The man who seizes another in New York, and drags him into bondage, (alluding to the legal arrest of a fugitive slave, under the constitution of the United States) *whatever laws he may have in his favour*, is to be REGARDED AS A ROBBER AND PIRATE!"—*Ibid.*

"Slave-holding IS PIRACY, equally atrocious with slave-trading; and if there is any difference in criminality, slave-holding IS THE WORST OF THE TWO!"—*Speech of Mr. Phelps.*

"The slave-states are SODOMS, and almost every village-family is a brothel."—*Speech of Mr. Thorne.*

But why should we multiply quotations? Suffice

it that they never speak of them, save to calumniate and abuse them—never address them but in the gentle and paternal language of "robbers," "pirates," "tyrants," "monsters," "wretches," and other epithets of an equally conciliatory character. And can these men *affect* to believe that this course is prompted by a sincere desire to *persuade* the slaveholder to free his slave!

The very act of interference itself is a violation of their rights, and an outrage on their feelings. If there existed a disposition in favour of emancipation, this act of indelicate and insulting interference, this pragmatical and irritating violation of the rights and proprieties of social life, would be certain to extinguish it. If slavery be an evil—who so likely to know it as those who live in the midst of it? If slavery be cruel, the Southern people lack neither religion nor benevolence, and would be just as likely to feel the "gentle dint of pity" without, as with, vituperation and insult. Previous to the movements of the abolitionists, in many parts of the South, a disposition favourable to emancipation prevailed. They would, if undisturbed, have done all that was possible. Foreign interference, while it has naturally irritated the South, has rendered any act tending to encourage abolition, altogether dangerous and imprudent. They will not allow strangers to intrude to their fire-sides and *kick them* into certain measures; and if they were so singularly destitute of manly spirit, they cannot be ignorant that such a policy would be attended with inevitable destruction.

The abolitionists have been at work for years; they have, probably, expended hundreds of thousands of dollars; they have enlisted the sympathy and aid of misguided thousands—yet what good have they done? Have they liberated a slave? *Not one!*

On the contrary, the process of individual emancipation has been wholly checked. Have they convinced or converted a single slave-holder? NOT ONE! And those who before encouraged the hope of eventual emancipation—now regard the scheme and its authors with abhorrence. If their policy have not succeeded in attaining a single advantage, why persist in it? If their past exertions have not won over a single slave-holder, their future efforts cannot. Why then agitate and endanger a nation; why expend thousands, not only without benefit, but without the reasonable hope, however remote, of future advantage? *They know* that they cannot *win* the slave-holder into the support of their schemes; why persist in their present policy? Because the pretence is affected—is the mask of deep and dangerous designs upon the slaves. The abolitionists are not all insane; they do not spend their money, exert their talents, and waste their time, in a hopeless and absurd attempt to win the master. They care not for his aid. Years ago they said in the Emancipator, "*Slavery will never be abolished until it is done* BY THE SWORD, *or the fear of the sword;*" and added, that "*the slaves will soon be free.*" This was then, and still is the policy. They cry *peace, peace*—but pursue a course which is designed to end, and must end (unless the South erect herself and interpose the only shield which can ward off the blow,) in a servile war, and render the whole South a *Pandemonium*, from which the shout of exulting rapine, and the shriek of murder and violation will go forth.

"But the slave has cause to reproach the abolitionist, not merely for the prostration of all future hope of emancipation, but for the aggravation of his present condition. It is impossible that the intemperate advocacy of the emancipation of the slaves,

can fail to excite the prejudice and ill-feeling of a majority of the slave-holders; and it is equally impossible to prevent a share of those feelings being extended to the unfortunate object of the abolitionist's benevolence. Even where the irritating interference of the abolitionists is insufficient to alienate the kindness of the master from the slave, it succeeds in creating danger and suspicion. The slave, misled by his new friends, becomes discontented and refractory; the master loses his confidence, and measures of precaution and restraint become absolutely necessary. The Charleston Courier, speaking of these fruits of abolition, says:—"It is certain that their labours thus far have produced only evil to the race which they have selected as the objects of their devilish *philanthropy*. At the North they have raised the mob against the property and lives of their sable *protegés*, and at the South they have only added to the rigor of the *code noir*, and caused a repeal of laws permitting emancipation."

Another moderate and respectable Southern journal says,—"They certainly cannot be assured of the detestation in which they are already held by the free blacks of the South, whose happiness and liberty they have sensibly abridged, and whose lives, in some instances, they have put in jeopardy. Even those of the slaves who have heard of them, curse their names as the authors of numerous vexations and privations to which they are now necessarily subjected. The inquisitorial visits, patroles, searches, confinement to plantations—the refusal of usual indulgences, and the exaction of additional duties, are all the fruits of fanaticism. The blacks, who see and know the cause, would be as ready to inflict summary vengeance upon Tappan, Garrison, Cox, Thompson, and their co-labourers, as their masters. Do the incendiaries know that they are absolutely

riveting the chains they profess to wish to see loosened? We should think not. But let them be satisfied that such is the fact."

The following from the Richmond Inquirer is also entitled to attention.

"These men are not only impertinent, but pernicious intermeddlers. They not only bring mischief upon the whites, but they aggravate the very evils which they profess to remedy. They strengthen the cord of slavery itself. They compel us to treat them with a severity which is as painful to the slave as it is irksome to the owner. A regard for our own security must impose upon them additional restrictions—and in case these vile miscreants should ever succeed in raising rebellion among them, they alone will be held responsible, in the eyes of God and man, for all the blood which will flow. It is thus that they are doing serious mischief, both to the whites and to the blacks—aggravating the very evil which they profess to palliate."

In confirmation of these statements we subjoin an extract from the address of the members of the African Methodist Church of Baltimore.

"We do most firmly and sincerely believe, that the dissemination of inflammatory appeals addressed mainly to the prejudices and passions, without reference to reason, instead of promoting the object professed to be had in view, will greatly aggravate the evils already existing, and create others of a far more alarming and calamitous nature; will render the situation of that portion of the coloured people now in possession of liberty, awfully precarious—rivet the fetter still more closely on the slave, and jeopard the prosperity and happiness, nay, the life itself, of the whole population of the southern states, both white and black.

"The conviction thus expressed is the rational

consequence of cool and deliberate reflection on the subject, when contemplated abstractly and without regard to actual occurrences; but it has been powerfully corroborated by the developements which have already attended the efforts of the licentious and misguided fanaticism now in progress. But a short time has elapsed since all of us were permitted to worship God undisturbedly in our own sanctuaries, under our own vine and fig-tree—since we were protected in the enjoyment of civil privileges, and allowed a common participation with our white brethren, in many of the comforts of domestic life. Now, in many sections of the country, both north and south of us, our congregation for religious exercises is either prohibited altogether, or watched with a jaundiced eye; the civil blessings with which we were measurably favoured are denied or restricted; our most innocent actions are exposed to the scrutiny of suspicion; and our homes and firesides threatened with ruin.

"Influenced by these considerations, and determined by the harmless rectitude of our deportment to manifest our heartfelt and unconquerable abhorrence of the atrocious attempts of mistaken, hotheaded zealots to plunge the country into anarchy and discord, and to deluge it with torrents of blood, we do hereby sacredly pledge ourselves not to receive any of the vile, mischievous, and incendiary publications, now so industriously scattered abroad; to arrest the circulation of such as may come under our observation—of which we respectfully ask the postmasters to take notice—and to destroy them without perusal; and, in fine, by every effort within our power, to put a period to the operations of this engine of bloodshed and torture. We do most earnestly entreat those over whom we have any control or influence, either officially or as friends, to co-operate

with us in the suppression of this most pernicious —this fatal evil—to lend their most ardent and cheerful endeavours to prevent the diffusion of a spirit of insubordination and rebellion. And being fully persuaded that our opinions faithfully and truly reflect those of the church to which we are attached, we do most unfeignedly and anxiously beseech those engaged in the propagation of abolition principles, and the distribution of abolition tracts, periodicals, and pamphlets, to abstain from their unasked and unwelcome interference in our concerns, and if they have a spark of compassion, sympathy, or philanthropy in their bosoms, to permit us to enjoy our existence in security and peace."

To this eloquent and affecting appeal—this pathetic detail of the sufferings visited upon the blacks of the South, by the sinister efforts of their false friends—the abolitionists alone could be insensible. Careless of the consequences, they go on. The union of the States may be sundered by their madness—still they persist; the afflicted patriots of their country beseech them to forbear—but they heed it not; the unhappy objects of their affected benevolence implore them to desist—but onward still, over the trampled constitution, the peace, the hopes, and the happiness of their country, they stride forward to their object. Such is their philanthropy.*

* A late number of the Emancipator contains the following article. It will be seen that the abolitionists are aware of the dreadful consequences of their policy—but are determined to persevere in it. It will be seen also that while they acknowledge the calamitous tendency of their course, their only response is—"*Let them* drive out missionaries and schoolteachers—bury the key of knowledge—double the fetters, and lengthen the lash." Such is their kindness and affection for the slaves. Their direct aim is also acknowledged to be, not to convince the slave-holder, but to excite others against him. "To use this very madness and cruelty of the slave-holder as

They would wade to their purpose through a sea of kindred blood—cheer on the hell-hounds of civil war, and in their horrible triumph, while the shrieks of an expiring land ring in their ears, wave above the scene the crimson and reeking banner of *Philanthropy!*

an argument to rouse the Christian world against the sin of slavery."

"*The fruits of Abolitionism.*—Some enemies of immediate emancipation, with great apparent delight, point us to the present state of the South. 'There,' say they, 'we told you so. See the masters exasperated, and recanting all their purposes of ultimate emancipation. See the slave bound in double fetters. See the free coloured man persecuted, and trembling with fear of banishment or death. See the schools for the coloured people all shut, and the last rays of hope and knowledge blotted out together. See every Northern man who had visited the South on an errand of mercy, fleeing for his life. This is the fruit of *your* labours.'

"Some, we can hardly call them friends of the oppressed, may be persuaded by such arguments to give over. They may say, 'We have borne our testimony, but it is of no avail; now, therefore, let us wash our hands of the guilt, and leave the slave-holders to themselves.' Not so, brethren—we have more to do. Thousands of prayers are going up to God daily, from those who in the midst of slavery, have not bowed the knee to Baal, for our *perseverance.* Let them drive out missionaries and school-teachers—bury the key of knowledge—double the fetters, and lengthen the lash. Let them destroy or banish every man who will not receive on his forehead the brand of the monster—*perpetual slavery.*—What is the language of God's providence to us? Clearly this: *To use this very madness and cruelty of the slave-holders as an argument to rouse the Christian world against the* SIN OF SLAVERY."

CHAPTER XVII.

Course of the abolitionists a violation of the Constitution—An infraction of the rights and the laws of the South, &c.

In discussing the subject of Domestic Slavery in this country, it is proper that we should refer specially and distinctly to the sovereign rights of the Southern states on this question and all minor questions arising from it. It is, however, scarcely necessary to prove what is not doubted, or to urge the truth of assertions which no individual in the country will venture to deny.

The rights of the South do not exist under, *but over*, the Constitution. They existed before this Government was called into being. The Constitution is rather sanctioned by them, than they by the Constitution. Had not that instrument admitted the sovereignty of those rights, it would never have itself been admitted by the South. It bowed in deference to rights older in their date, stronger in their claims, and holier in their nature, than any which the Constitution of the confederacy can boast.

Let no man then deceive himself. Let him not think that the rights of the South may be changed by a change of our national Constitution. Those rights are out of the reach of the nation as a nation. The confederacy may crumble to pieces, the Con-

stitution may pass away—but these rights will remain unshaken—will exist while the South exists—and when they fall—the South will perish with them. It will be admitted, that the states which entered into the compact of Union were possessed, individually, of full sovereignty, and were as independent of any and all earthly power as nations can be. If they were not thus sovereign and independent, they had no authority or power to enter into the articles of confederation.

It will be admitted, that in entering into this confederacy, and in adopting the Constitution of 1787, they lost none of their exclusive right of legislation on the subject of domestic slavery in their own borders, but remained, as to that question, as sovereign and independent as at first.

It will be admitted, that instead of losing any of their high and sovereign power on the subject referred to, that power was expressly reserved both in the articles of confederation and in the Constitution of the United States, and that the non-slaveholding states not only admitted and sanctioned it, but bound themselves to restore fugitive slaves from the South, and to secure a representation based upon the slave population.

It will be admitted, that the rights of the slaveholding states on the subject of slavery, have never been surrendered, never been questioned, never been weakened nor diminished; that they are, in relation to that question, what they were before they entered into the confederation, sovereign and independent; and that the non-slaveholding states are, in reference to the same question, what they were before that compact—foreign communities.

Virginia or South Carolina, then, has, in reference to the subject of slavery, no more connexion with us than Russia or Great Britain; we have no

greater right to interfere with her domestic legislation on the subject of slavery, than with the internal relations of those kingdoms; nor is she under any greater obligation than they would be, to submit to such interference, without vindicating her rights, and punishing those who dare to disturb her tranquillity.

If a Northern State directly violates these rights, or permits her citizens to do so,* she not only breaks the compact, but makes it the duty of the injured state to defend herself, as an independent state should, from a violation of her sovereignty.

The non-slaveholding states entered into this union with their eyes open. They knew that the compact was subject to this reservation. They pledged themselves to observe it. Every thing sacred to us as patriots, Americans, and men stands pledged for our honourable adherence to the faith then plighted—the promise then solemnly and understandingly extended.

Did our fathers right? No union could have been effected unless the rights of the South had been thus secured. Conscious of this, they were willing to suffer what they could not cure, and gave their sanction to the only union that could have been formed. The result has shown that they *were* right. Our people have prospered. The friends of freedom, humanity, and religion throughout the world, have reason to rejoice in the compromise then entered into.

The North is not responsible, morally nor politically, for the existence of slavery in this country.

* The sovereign who refuses to cause a reparation to be made of the damage caused by his subject, or to punish the guilty, or, in short, to deliver him up, renders himself in some measure an accomplice in the injury, and becomes responsible for it.—*Vattel's Law of Nations.*

It never had, has not now, *and never will have*, power over the subject. If it be a sin, the blame rests not upon the North—if it be a curse, the North, at least, is not blasted by it. The North has not been compelled to pay for the support of the South; she has not been taxed to encourage her labour, nor have her exports passed through her ports and given the breath of life to her commerce. The North need not trouble her conscience nor excite her sympathies, in relation to the sins or the afflictions of the South. The South will bear her afflictions with what fortitude she may; and as for the sins which excite so holy a horror in the bosoms of the immaculate abolitionists, she will take care that the North is not burthened with any accountability for them. Let the North *stand off*, and all will be well.

It ought not to be necessary to urge the obligation, which requires us to regard, with reverence, the sacred charter of our national existence. It ought not to be necessary to remind any portion of our people, that honour, probity, patriotism require us to observe its provisions. If the violator of the law be entitled to punishment and abhorrence, what should be the penalty of him who strikes at the source of all law; who would tear asunder the bond which unites millions happily together, and leave our country to all the horrors of jarring anarchy and lawless violence? If any thing be entitled to reverence or regard, it is our sacred Constitution—the barrier which protects us from popular turbulence, from intestine war, from social and political confusion and collision. The consequence of its downfall or of the violation of its provisions, no fancy can adequately conceive. All that we desire as a people is attained—all that we fear is avoided, by its aid. Let it be destroyed, whether by open

violence, or insidious opposition, and where will the consequences terminate? Will the violator pause there; or, having trampled on the charter of the country, will he strike at those of the states, and break down all the barriers which protect weakness and innocence from lawless and brutal force? Let the principle be established, that a direct and solemn political compact may be vacated, without moral offence, by scheming and ambitious individuals—and human foresight cannot anticipate the calamities which will ensue.

There may be, particularly in this country, treason without overt crime, which, though secured from the penalty of our lenient code—is still, in the eye of reason and justice, and before God and man, the basest treason. An evasion of an obligation is as great a moral offence as its violation. The prosecution of an insidious but energetic war upon the slave-holding members of the Union—upon their liberties as states, and their existence as communities, must be regarded as a crime of the most dangerous and guilty character. The traitor who stabs at the life or honour of his country, in the mask of piety, and from behind a legal quibble, is as guilty as the open desperado who strikes at her in the face of day, and before all the world.

The abolitionists, in urging their designs against the South, are guilty of infringing the acknowledged rights of those states; of disregarding their own solemnly pledged faith to observe those rights, as sanctioned by the Federal compact; and of violating that sense of propriety and duty, which requires that we should respect the domestic privileges and pursuits of others.

Can this course of conduct result in any advantage to the objects of their benevolence, or to their white brethren of the South? It menaces evil to

both. It seeks to effect evil. It looks to revolution; it teaches that the Constitution is "*null and void*," when opposed to their schemes; and contemplates the prostration of every right, the dissolution of every tie, and the disregard of every obligation between them and the object of their ill-omened ambition.

The Southern states have passed laws, prohibiting the dissemination of incendiary publications within their borders, and denouncing severe penalties against the offenders. In some states the offence is capital, and is punished with death. The abolitionists, who send such publications into the state, violate these laws and incur their penalties. It is of no consequence in what manner they commit the crime, whether through the medium of the mails or by private emissaries; it is equally unimportant whether they are within the borders of the state at the time they committed the outrage upon its laws—the crime is equally great, and equally certain. It may be alleged, in extenuation of the offence, that the offender is beyond the reach of justice: the same plea would palliate the crime of the fugitive murderer. The offence is committed; the laws are violated; the crime is registered in heaven; and the criminal stands accountable to his own conscience and to God, as a felon—one who, if justice had its way, would perish ingnominiously on the scaffold. Such is the nature of the proceedings of the abolitionists. They are guilty of a CAPITAL CRIME—a crime which is regarded by those authorised to decide, as equal in guilt and peril, to MURDER. Yet they ask and obtain the aid of Christians; they call themselves philanthropists, and expect the praise and support of the lovers of virtue, peace, and order.

So clear and distinct is their offence, so full the

evidence of its commission, that, should they be found within the borders of the states whose laws they have violated, they would be at once arrested, tried, and doubtless found guilty and hung. Indeed, as it is, there are great doubts whether the Southern states may not demand them from the states in which they now reside, as *fugitives from justice.* Many profound jurists regard the right of the South to demand, and the duty of the North to give up, these violators of the law, as clear and unquestionable.

The following able exposition of these views, extracted from the New York Courier and Enquirer, merits an attentive perusal.

"If Tappan be guilty of violation of the laws of the South, and can be proved guilty, let some of the Southern executives demand him as a criminal at the hands of our executive, and if their demand be legal he will doubtless be surrendered.

"If the distribution of inflammatory and seditious papers in any Southern state, be an offence against their laws, and if it can be proved that Arthur Tappan has delivered or caused to be delivered, in such state or states, papers coming within the bearing of the enactments—then we believe that on such charge he may be legally demanded, and must be surrendered.

"The objections to this are: *Firstly*, that the alledged offence is not *here* capital. But what of that? In some of our states rape is *not* while in others it *is* a capital felony. But let a ravisher commit his crime in a state wherein that crime is punished—as it should be punished every where—with death, and let him subsequently to the commission, escape into a state by whose enactment the punishment is milder—that ravisher might be demanded and would be ceded to be tried, and if guilty, to suffer,

according the code of that state wherein the offence is committed.

"Therefore, if Arthur Tappan has committed in all or any of the Southern states, a crime punished capitally in such states or state—he may be demanded and must be surrendered to be tried and to suffer —if proved guilty—according to the laws of that state.

"Again it is contended that the crime of Arthur Tappan—if a crime by the laws of any Southern state—is not committed in that state.

"In answer to this statement, we will first advance an argument, and a most strong one, which has been brought to bear on this point before, as we find by an article in the Charleston Courier, wherein it is demonstrated—that in England the author of a libellous paper is tried by the laws and jury of the place wherein the libellous paper is delivered at the post office—not at the place where it is composed. And that such author is transferred by the sheriff of his own county to the sheriff of that next adjoining, till he be delivered for trial at the place wherein the *libel was committed by the delivery of the libellous paper at the office.* Now if this be true of *libellous papers* it is much more true of *seditious papers;* and if the delivery of these papers be seditious at Charleston, the crime of sedition was committed at Charleston, and Arthur Tappan may be demanded to take his trial for sedition at Charleston. And in this state, as we happen to know, the law is similar to the law in England. In the case of Root vs. King for a libel, the *venire* was laid in Delaware County, the residence of the Plaintiff, and *there* the question of libel was tried. And recently, *in our own case,* the Grand Jury of the County of *Sullivan* found an indictment against us for the publication of an alleged libel on the Post-master

at *Monticello* in *Sullivan* county, and although the libel was published in the county of *New York*, we were *tried*, and if found guilty, would have been punished in the former county. The same rule of law should, we conceive, be applicable to states as to counties in this instance; but we have a still stronger argument in favor of our position.

"A citizen of New York, resident in this state, suborns another, or directly instigates him to go into South Carolina and *there* commit a murder,—thereby rendering himself an accessary before the fact to *murder*, and therefore liable to capital punishment. The murder is committed in South Carolina—the murderer escapes to New York—is demanded, and of course delivered up to take his trial at the place wherein the murder was committed. On his trial, proof is developed of the agency in the murder of an *accessary before the fact* to this murder committed in South Carolina, who is a resident of New York, which place he has not quitted. *Where would that accessary be tried?*—clearly in the place where the crime to which he was an accessary was committed. On this point no one we presume can entertain a doubt; otherwise, as he cannot be tried in New York as an accessary to a crime not committed within her jurisdiction, he would escape punishment.

"If, then, this be true in a case of *murder*, it must be equally true in case of Treason; and if the putting into circulation of the abolition pamphlets in South Carolina be *treason*—and if it can be proved that Arthur Tappan be accessary before the fact to the putting into circulation of those pamphlets in South Carolina—then is Arthur Tappan, though he has not quitted New York, accessary before the fact to treason committed in South Carolina.

"And again, if the circulation of abolition pamphlets be a capital offence in Carolina, and if persons charged with capital offences be mutually deliverable between the states of the Union as the Constitution provides, then Arthur Tappan, as accessary before the fact to a capital offence committed in *South Carolina*, may be demanded at the hands of our Executive, and if demanded must be delivered up to take his trial in South Carolina."

If the South have not, under the Constitution, the right to demand and punish those who stand on her borders, and fling amid her slaves incendiary and seditious publications—it is to be regretted that so important and necessary a protection was not provided. Those who are willing to violate the laws and disturb the tranquillity of a state of this Union, should find no shelter from its sister states.

But it may be doubted whether, if this right were fully conceded to the South, she would descend to exercise it. The wrong comes, not from individuals, but from a party in the North, which is permitted, by those states, to prosecute a systematic and organized war against the rights and the peace of the South. It is the duty of the North to crush them;* and any attempt on the part of the South to secure individuals of the mass, would be unworthy her dignity, and inadequate to the prostration, or even the discouragement of the conspiracy against her.

* What would you say, if your own operatives were to become discontented and rebellious—threatening your houses with the torch and your families with the knife—and if *we* were to erect presses in our own bosom to print and circulate papers to blow them into flame? Would you not call upon us, to interfere for their suppression?—And may we not call upon you in the like spirit?—*Richmond Enquirer.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

The abolitionists, with all their presumption, do not venture to assert that Congress has a right to legislate on the slave question for the States. They do not, however, hesitate to allege the existence, and claim the exercise of that right in the District of Columbia. They have turned their whole force against this District. Falsehoods and calumnies against the slave-holders of the District are circulated throughout the Union; and the people of the remotest States are told, with all the declamatory cant of the abolition school, that, for the atrocities thus conjured up and presented to their imaginations, *they* are responsible. They are called upon, therefore, by every consideration, to clear their skirts from the horrid sin, by insisting on the abolition of slavery in the District. Great efforts are made to procure petitions to Congress on the subject; and it is probable that their application will be presented during the ensuing session, with several thousand names attached to it. The following is a copy of one of the petitions in circulation.

"*To the honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:* The petition of the undersigned, citizens of ———, humbly sheweth, That your petitioners feel themselves bound by their duty to their country, to their

fellow-men, and to their God, to protest against the continuance of SLAVERY and the SLAVE-TRADE in the District of Columbia, and to pray your honourable bodies to exercise your constitutional powers for their immediate abolition.

"Remembering that the traffic in *human flesh*, when practised on the ocean, has been solemnly declared piracy by our own, and that it is so considered by almost all Christian nations, your petitioners do most earnestly implore that slavery, the necessary cause of the traffic, may no longer be permitted to exist in the Capital of this Republic."

The subject thus forced upon the attention of our people, is one involving the most momentous considerations. Fully understood, the scheme of abolition in the District, must be generally reprehended. It may be regarded as the outposts of the great question; and, if carried, will insure a final and complete triumph to the conspirators in all their designs.

The general government has no right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

The framers of the constitution could never have intended to give to the government jurisdiction over this delicate subject. So far as they could, they secured to the South exclusive control of the slave question. The difficulty before us could not be foreseen by them, or express provisions would have been made to secure the country from this species of agitation. The South would never have sanctioned a constitution which gave to the general government *any* power, direct or indirect, to legislate on the slave question. They denied that power then, as they deny it now. They would not then submit to it; and subsequent events have induced no change of sentiment or feeling.

The constitution, which so expressly withheld from the general government the power of legislation

on the subject of slavery, could not have designed to give it the power of agitation—a power which would have annihilated all restraints, and laid the domestic rights of the South at the very feet of the central government. Let the general government but possess and exercise a right to agitate the subject of slavery in the South, to use the influence of her public councils, the power of her immense patronage, and of the treasury of the country—and she will not need the empty privilege of legislation. The South will be completely at her mercy.

Should the abolitionists triumph in the approaching effort, they would make the general government *an abolition engine.* The measure of abolition in the District would be regarded as a direct and emphatic approval of the course of the abolitionists. The fanatics would take fresh courage; the venal and time-serving would flock to a standard sustained by the government; and the cause would soon be considered "the cause of the country." The passage of the act referred to would put the seal of national sanction on the calumnies and vituperation of the abolitionists against the South; and would hold the citizens of that section of the country up to the detestation of the world, as brutal and fiendlike monsters, destitute of mercy and justice, and wholly sordid and savage in their character and habits. It would do more—it would extend to the slaves of the South, hopes that would madden them. The government itself would become incendiary; and the slaves, like those of St. Domingo, under a like policy of the French government, would respond to the lure held out, and rise in a mass to commence the work of murder and desolation. With the countenance of the general government, it is impossible to say what would be the results of an insurrection of the slaves of the South. The dangers are, at least,

sufficient to make it the duty of the South to guard against them. The lives of the citizens of the South, and all that is dear to them, depend on their preserving, wholly untouched, their jurisdiction over the slave question. The power that violates these rights, is their worst foe—and as such, must and will be met.

The passage of such an enactment by Congress would be a virtual infraction of the compact between the general government and the States of Virginia and Maryland. It cannot be supposed, even by the most insane of the fanatics, that those States would have ceded their territory to the United States, if they had supposed that the national government possessed the power to pass an act of abolition; or could ever so far forget its own character as to assume such power. Would they have exposed their own citizens to be thus robbed of their property? Would they—would Washington himself, have sanctioned a measure which would be certain to endanger the institutions of Virginia and Maryland, and found a city of refuge for the reception and shelter of the runaway slaves from those States? It cannot be, for one moment, believed. These States would be deeply injured by such a measure; and they, as well as the citizens of the District, would regard it as unauthorized, unjust, and oppressive. The general government would be petitioned by the whole District, to remove the seat of government, and recede the District to the States from which it was received. Amid such opposition and contention, surrounded by an indignant and injured population, the government would find itself placed, by its injustice, in a situation so embarrassing, that in all probability it would be constrained to remove the seat of its deliberations to some remote and more tranquil spot.

The government of the United States, in adopting

the District of Columbia as the site of the capital, never contemplated an interference with the existing right of the inhabitants to their slaves. Had the measures now urged been anticipated, the seat of government would have been fixed in one of the non-slaveholding States, where the government would not have been disturbed by the agitation of this ill-fated question. It may be added, also, that the slave-holders in the administration, of which the sainted Washington—a slave-holder—was the chief, would never have sanctioned the measure, had they supposed that the question of slavery in the District was open to Northern interference.

But whatever right may be claimed, for Congress, in the District of Columbia, it will be admitted that it has no greater power than a local legislature would have, were the District a State, and Congress its legislature. No republican, no lover of freedom, no friend of justice, will deny that it would be improper and oppressive, should Congress assume powers which such a legislature would not possess. It may, therefore, be presumed, that Congress will be guided by the rules which would control such a legislature; and will consult the interests, but more than all, *the will* of the community. If the voters of the District are anxious for the abolition of slavery, it is well. If, on the contrary, they are opposed to it—to trample on their will, would be but a humiliating specimen of American liberty and justice. When the national government is convinced that the will of the community, for which she legislates, the community of which she is the protector, craves abolition, then let its inhabitants be robbed of their property, despoiled of their rights, and offered up as sacrifices at the shrine of Northern fanaticism.

The surrender of the District of Columbia would prove one of the most afflicting calamities which

could be visited upon the South. It would become the focus of the abolitionists. They would make it their head-quarters—the laboratory for the preparation of their incendiary weapons. From this place, they would operate, with irresistible effect, upon the surrounding country; and in a short time completely pervade the south with their insurrectionary spirit. The district, too, would become the shelter of tens of thousands of fugitive slaves. Arrangements would be made to receive them, and forward them by sea to the North. Thus the District would become the avenue, by which the slaves of the south would pass on to freedom, at the North.

The opposition to slavery in the District of Columbia has existed ever since its cession to the United States. As early as in 1805, the following resolution was brought forward in the House of Representatives.

"*Resolved*, That from and after the 4th of July, all blacks and people of colour that shall be born within the District of Columbia, whose mothers shall be the property of any person residing within said District shall be free; the males at the age of ——, and the females at the age of ——."

This resolution was rejected; ayes 31, noes 77.

The views of the South on this subject are distinctly understood. The people of the slaveholding States deny the right of Congress to discuss the subject; and are prepared to act, as one man, in vigorous and determined opposition to any measure, calculated to undermine their rights and endanger their tranquillity and safety. In some of the meetings recently held at the South on this subject, the representatives of the South in Congress were requested, to vacate their seats the moment the discussion of abolition commenced. The following firm and eloquent appeal from the South to the North, published in the

Richmond Inquirer, and extensively recopied, will exhibit the feelings and determination of the South on this subject.

"The South, therefore, calls upon the North to put forth her strength, and assist us in putting down the *emissaries* of the fanatics, and their *poisonous presses*—and, moreover, to keep off their hands from the District of Columbia. It is neutral ground, with which neither party is permitted to meddle. 'Pass not the Iberus, (as the Romans warned the Carthagenians.) Touch not Saguntum.' We warn you in the most ingenuous but respectful terms, touch not the District—disturb not the order of things, which has been established there since the foundation of the government—violate none of the rights of property which belong to her people, originally the citizens of two slave States, and protected by their laws. Open no asylum in the slave region, and on the borders of Virginia, for fugitive slaves or incendiary emissaries. The federal constitution never could have intended to convey any jurisdiction to Congress over this delicate and agitating subject. Beware, then, we beseech you! You are kindling a flame which must consume the sacred temple of the Union itself. The South has taken her stand on this subject, from which she will not depart. She will not permit the discussion for one moment of such petitions. She will consider the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia as forbidden ground in debate. Here they are on a footing as firm, and occupy a position as strong, as they do, when they reject interference, in an open manner, with the institution of slavery within their limits. They may with safety point to the constitution, and demand whether agitation can be justified and upheld by the authority of Congress, and whether it does not impair the securities to slave pro-

perty, which constitute a part of that instrument. They may not only allege the evil *tendency* of entertaining discussions and receiving petitions on this subject, but they may take higher grounds, and say, that should Congress, through a misguided majority, acting under fanatical impulses, make any declaration affecting the rights of slave-owners in the District of Columbia, either now or prospectively, it would be, in effect, a sentence of confiscation, bounded, it is true, as to place, but co-extensive with the limits of the Union."

It cannot be denied, and need not be concealed, that the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia by Congress, would be the signal for an immediate dissolution of the Union. The South does not shrink from an avowal of her determination on this point. Her course will be adopted, not from resentment or rage, but from a calm and stern conviction of necessity. On a separation of the Union, the District of Columbia would probably revert to its original States; and the very act of abolition would be thus abrogated. Thus the fanatics urge a measure, which, *though it may dissolve the Union, cannot free a single slave.*

CHAPTER XIX.

Impossibility of effecting abolition, even under the sanction of the slave-holders, without collision and war between the whites and blacks —Amalgamation.

We are willing, for the sake of investigating the practicability of abolition, to suppose impossibilities —to imagine that the Southern states are willing to witness, with apathy and indifference, the most sacred provisions of the Constitution violated, and their domestic institutions and domestic rights trampled, by their brethren, in the dust. We are willing to suppose, that they will voluntarily surrender their chartered rights, quietly beggar themselves and their children, and tamely give themselves up to the management of the Northern fanatics: in short that the slave-holders will themselves become abolitionists. *Still it would be impossible to effect abolition, without commotion and bloodshed, without the desolation of the entire South, and the extermination of one or the other of the races which inhabit it.*

Were the slaves emancipated they would claim political and social equality. This is already claimed by the abolitionists; and it is not to be supposed that a mass of ignorant freed men, drunken with the excitement of unwonted exemption from restraint, would be more moderate in their views or

desires, than their *pious and temperate* advocates in the North. They would claim political and social equality. Would it be denied? If so, they would, in the exultation and boastfulness of newly acquired importance, demand it. Pleased with a pretext for collision, they would at once fall upon the whites, and wrest, or attempt to wrest, the political power of the Southern states from their hands, at the point of the sword. Whatever might be the final result—the immediate consequences would be a war of extermination.

But let us suppose that these rights were conceded, and that the slave was at once elevated to all the privileges and powers of complete citizenship—the right to vote, to hold office, to make laws, organize armies, &c. &c. Can any man, in the maturity of reason, uninfluenced by fanaticism, and disposed to look dispassionately at facts, suppose that the two races could exist together, in tranquillity under such circumstances? Can it be conceived that social amalgamation will, or can, take place? The reader has no doubt noted with apprehension and regret the proscriptive and bitter prejudices of parties as they now exist in this country. A population, united by every national tie, identical in language, character, interests and feelings, and knit together by all the bonds of kindred—are still so divided by the spirit of faction, that the tranquillity and even the existence of the Union have been at times endangered. If such excitements distract our present population, what must be expected when the South is possessed by two races, differing in colour, character and interests? What power will overthrow the barrier which indissolubly divides them? What magic will remove the distinction which makes social amalgamation impossible? Without kindred connections, without social or sexual intercourse,

with every thing that can separate and embitter the races—it is impossible that they could move in the same sphere. It is impossible that they could sit in the same legislative hall, stand in the same military ranks, occupy the same civil posts, or mingle in the same political meetings. So long as intermarriage is out of the question, so long must these prejudices—the necessary result of social separation—prevail. On one side will be the whites, on the other the blacks; on one side the intelligence and refinement of the country, on the other the ignorance and barbarity; on one side the wealth, on the other the poverty; on one side contempt and the feeling produced by former power, on the other dark brooding feelings of malice and revenge. The blacks, too, would be unwilling to work, and when pressed by want—would *wrench* the means of existence from the white man, and in case of resistance, resort to the torch and the knife. The lands would remain in the possession of the whites, and being the only source of wealth, the impoverished negroes would insist on their division. A thousand subjects of contention would arise; and when the parties are indissolubly divided, separated by the hand of Nature, marked, on the front, as foes, and embittered by every feeling of hostility which can enter into human quarrels—the arbitrament must eventually be by the sword.*

* The following extract from De Lamartine, contains impressive and pregnant truths, which should not be overlooked by the political philosopher.

"The more I have travelled, the more I am convinced *that races of men form the great secret of history and manners.* Man is not so capable of education as philosophers imagine. The influence of governments and laws has less power, radically, than is supposed, over the manners and instincts of any people, while the primitive constitution and the blood of the race have always their influence, and manifest them-

The abolitionist will, perhaps, point to the Northern states, as furnishing a proof of the safety of abolition. It is true, that the slaves have been emancipated in the North—it is also true that they have not destroyed the lives of our citizens. But the facts prove nothing for the abolitionists. Notwithstanding the paucity of the numbers of the blacks, they have given the greatest trouble to the authorities of the Northern cities. Insignificant in power and resources, they are still insolent and arrogant to a degree which renders them dangerous to the community. The officers of justice scarce venture to arrest them; and it is a task of great and mortal peril to take a fugitive slave, or a fugitive from justice, from among them. It is unnecessary to refer the reader to the columns of our newspapers, which give, almost weekly, accounts of rescues by the blacks. The very hall of the Court House in Philadelphia, was made the scene of a rescue but a short time since; and the Judge himself saw, through the window, the officers of the court assailed and the prisoner seized by a negro mob.

While referring to the free negroes of the North, it may be well to inquire whether the social and

selves, thousands of years afterwards, in the physical formations and moral habits of a particular family or tribe. Human nature flows in rivers and streams into the vast ocean of humanity; but its waters mingle but slowly, sometimes never; and it emerges again, like the Rhone from the Lake of Geneva, with its own taste and colour. Here is indeed an abyss of thought and meditation, and at the same time a grand secret for legislators. As long as they keep the spirit of the race in view they succeed; but they fail when they strive against this natural predisposition: nature is stronger than they are. This sentiment is not that of the philosophers of the present time, but it is evident to the traveller; and there is more philosophy to be found in a caravan journey of a hundred leagues, than in ten years reading and meditation."

moral improvement, promised by the abolitionists as the result of emancipation, has been there attained. The negro in the North has equal, if not superior advantages to the mass of poor white men. Our public institutions afford him the advantages of an education; and the partiality of the negroites furnishes him with every advantage for the prosecution of business. It cannot, however, be boasted, that his intellectual character has been materially elevated, or his moral nature greatly improved. The free blacks are, in the mass, the most ignorant, voluptuous, idle, vicious, impoverished, and degraded population of this country. They are seldom seen pursuing regular trades, and avoid all continuous labour with characteristic solicitude. They have sunk lower than the Southern slaves, and constitute but a melancholy proof of the advantages of abolition.

Some time since, a respectable Quaker of Philadelphia, who was called upon to aid the abolitionists, in reply to the request of the solicitor, asked him what he would think of a settler in the far West, who would cut the wood from a tract of land preparatory to cultivation. The abolitionist replied, that he would consider it a natural and prudent course. But suppose, urged the friend, instead of cultivating what he had cleared, he should proceed to cut off another tract?—I would regard him as a most imprudent man—answered the other. And should he still proceed, cutting and clearing a third, a fourth, a fifth tract, without stopping to cultivate any? He would be a madman—responded the unconscious abolitionist. What then, urged the querist, are ye, who, having freed a large body of the blacks, would proceed to clear new and boundless tracts, without cultivating those already cleared. Raise the negroes of the North to the moral and

intellectual elevation necessary to make them good and happy men and valuable citizens—and I will give thee my money *to clear a new tract.*

The condition of the free negroes of the North demonstrates the utter impossibility of effecting a social or political amalgamation of the races. They are free at the North—possessed of all the rights of the whites—and elevated, in many states, to a complete political equality. Do they exercise those rights? They do not, and dare not. Weak as they are, the jealousy of the whites renders an attempt on their part to exercise their political rights, dangerous. Were they more numerous, the prejudice would be stronger. The late difficulties in the North between the whites and blacks, prove the strength and bitterness of this feeling. Those difficulties arose from the presumption of the blacks; and were quelled by their flight and submission. Had the blacks nearly or quite equalled the whites in numbers and strength, it is probable that resistance would have been made. Such a conflict would have led to consequences which no power under heaven could have checked. The contest would have widened to embrace the entire population, and deepened into a civil war. That war would have been waged with all the horrors of a civil contest between hostile races; and would have been terminated only by the submission or extinction of one of the parties. Imagine such a contest at the South, and what mind can regard the results without horror.

A review of the history and condition of the free blacks of the North, cannot but result in the conviction, that they are incapable of rising to a level with the whites; and that, if they could, their elevation would only precipitate a conflict between them,

and the whites, and render that conflict more dubious and destructive.

It may be justly doubted, whether, under the most favourable auspices, the negro character is adequate to the task of self elevation and support, whether he can, when left to himself, win or retain the advantages of civilization and self control; and it is certain that, where the circumstances are adverse, he must sink, when the supporting hand of the white man is withdrawn, into barbarity and wretchedness. We know that many intelligent men profess to believe, that the intellectual and moral faculties of the negro are equal to those of any other race. We have no prejudice against the coloured man to gratify; but we cannot but doubt the truth of the position. We have no proof of their capacity for self-sustained civilization. Since the sun first shone upon Africa, that vast continent, has, so far as the negro race is concerned, remained in unbroken gloom. Of the flood of moral radiance which has irradiated the whole globe, not a straggling ray has been able to pierce the dense gloom which overshadows Africa. In the West Indies, we find the same insusceptibility to mental refinement. Even in Hayti, as will be seen hereafter, the negro has been unable to raise his nature above its ordinary level. In this country, the coloured man has greater advantages, and has attained a somewhat greater degree of civilization: but who, that contemplates the race, as a mass, is prepared to say that they are capable of self government, or fit to be merged, politically, in the free white population of the country. Personal observation must convince every candid man, that the negro is constitutionally indolent, voluptuous, and prone to vice; that his mind is heavy, dull, and unambitious; and that the doom which has made the African in

all ages and countries, a slave—is the natural consequence of the inferiority of his character.*

* The following extract is from the Courier and Enquirer, of New York. The view here taken of the subject is equally forcible and correct.

"We will suppose, what is scarcely possible, that the blacks should finally succeed, and become masters where before they were slaves. We would ask does there now exist, or did there ever exist an independent community of blacks in any age or clime, that affords one single ennobling reflection to the friends of the human race? Are they not in St. Domingo, and every where else, where they exist in a state of freedom, without morals, without industry, and divested of every characteristic of civilized nations? They have no ideas of freedom except exemption from labour, and their conception of political rights is limited to abject despotism on the one hand, unrestrained licentiousness on the other. In their native land they are the slaves of their kings, who exercise over them unlimited discretion, and in St. Domingo, where their minds, and their habits were in some degree modified by an association with the whites, the only use they have made of their freedom is to indulge in a latitude of idleness and debauchery which has entailed upon them a system of coercion and punishment from their rulers, far more severe than they ever suffered from their old masters.

"To the task of self government they have been found totally inadequate, at all times, and every where. As independent communities they are political bondmen; as free individuals, they nine times in ten, become either a burthen or a pest to society. The cities of New York and Philadelphia, the great refuges of the free coloured population, afford such melancholy examples of the truth of this latter assertion, that we shall not waste words to establish its correctness. No one can walk the streets by day, and more especially by night, without having his feelings outraged by continued examples of such disgusting obscenity, such filthy, nauseating, beastly corruption, as it is reserved to the free negroes alone to exhibit among us. They pay no more respect to the laws of the land, than to the decencies of society. A white man offending against the laws, can be arrested and made answerable for his crime, without raising a mob to effect his liberation and arrest the course of justice. But let a Southern planter attempt to reclaim his runaway slave, and the whole

Mr. Walsh says, in his Appeal: "I know of but one mode of correcting these feelings, and preventing altercation, hostility, and civil war; of making the experiment of general instruction and emancipation, with any degree of safety. We must assure the blacks of a perfect equality in all points with ourselves; *we must labour to incorporate them with us, so that we shall become of one flesh and blood, and of one political family!*"—Mr. Walsh is right; and events which have transpired since the publication of his work, prove that this "amalgamation," is recognized as the only means of attaining complete social equality, and is therefore regarded, by the abolitionists, with favour. Their feelings and views, on this point, were originally expressed with more frankness; but the indignation with which the plan was received by the people, has induced them to defer its public avowal and advocacy. It must, however, be admitted by every reasoning man that sexual amalgamation is the only means, under heaven, by which the races can be "mingled, like kindred drops, in one." This is the only plan by which the vagaries of the abolitionists can, by the most remote possibility, be realized. It is the sole recourse, in case of emancipation, by which the colliding races can be harmonized, their prejudices removed, and the divided and conflicting population welded into one mass.

But is such an amalgamation possible? The fana-

mass of black population is in arms to oppose him. He does it at the risk of his life, and his appeal to the laws of his country to recover his property, endangers his very existence. Even if he should escape this danger, he incurs the scoffs and opprobium of the offscourings of society, and too often must submit his claim to the decision of a magistrate whose *conscience* will not permit him to enforce the laws of his country.

ties, who pause not at the prospect of insurrection and slaughter, may, perhaps, regard without nausea, this proce s of harmonization. They may have sufficiently schooled and perverted their natural feelings, to endure a prospect at which ordinary human nature sickens. But can they, with all their abstractions, persuade the people of this country that *white is black?* Can they induce them to believe that Cupid is a young negro; or to regard, without a revolt of their feelings, the combination of charms which grace the sooty and fragrant favourites of the fanatics? But this subject can scarce be even referred to, without a breach of propriety, without feelings of nauseated disgust and excited indignation. The man who can insult the fair and accomplished ladies of this country, by conceiving, much less avowing, a belief of the possibility of such deep, unnatural and damning degradation—deserves the most emphatic expression of the abhorrence of society. Yet strange to say, the North *does* contain men, who openly vindicate the revolting and guilty suggestion—and who yet walk our streets "untarred and unfeathered."

Can these philanthropists blind themselves to the real character of such schemes? Can they not see beneath the mask of benevolence, the hot and hideous features of a monstrous and unnatural lust? Can they not foresee, in the results of the unholy union, the utter annihilation of all sense of virtue? Are they not aware that it would plunge the race into a pit of fathomless and irretrievable degradation and perdition? They are not, they cannot be ignorant, that such guilt would bring down upon us the curse of God and man; that we would be regarded, with loathing and contempt, by all created beings; and sink into a depth of crime and infamy, of feebleness and horror, for which fancy has no picture

and history no parallel. Commerce would fly our guilty shores; crime would stalk through our streets at mid-day; genius and virtue, and peace would be unknown among us; and we would become, to ourselves, a mass of rottenness and wretchedness—to the world, a hissing and a reproach.

Mr. Walsh, referring to this subject, in the work already quoted, says: "there must remain, in any case, a broad line of demarcation, not viewed as an inconvenience by them, but indispensable for our feelings and interests. Nature and accident combine to make it impossible; their colour is a perpetual memento of their servile origin, and a double disgust is thus created. We will not, must not, expose ourselves to lose our identity as it were; to be stained in our blood, and disparaged, in our relation of being, towards the stock of our forefathers in Europe. This may be called prejudice; but it is one which no reasoning can overcome, and which we cannot wish to see extinguished. We are sure that it would exist in an equal degree with any nation of Europe, who might be circumstanced like ourselves; we do not find it so gross in itself, or so hurtful and unjust in its operation, as those of an analogous cast which prevail in England. 'Men of true speculation,' says Mr. Burke, 'exploring general prejudices, employ their sagacity to discover the latent wisdom which inheres in them. If they find what they seek, they think it more wise to continue the prejudice, with the reason involved, than to cast away the coat of prejudice, and leave nothing but the naked reason.'"

CHAPTER XX.

Consequences of Abolition, if effected with the assent of the Slave-holder.

It will be said by the Southern reader, that it is unnecessary and idle to inquire into the consequences of an event which is impossible. We admit that it *is* utterly impossible that the citizens of the South can ever consent to stake their lives upon the perilous and absurd scheme of the abolitionists: but it may be well, by a brief and cursory view of the results which would inevitably flow from such a measure, to open the eyes of honest abolitionists, if such there be, to the real character of the designs which they have been induced to sustain.

The consequences of abolition would be wide-sweeping and general; they would be felt and deplored by the North as well as the South—by the negro as well as the white man.

To the North its influence would be truly disastrous. The instant the act of emancipation went into effect, a torrent of black emigration would set from the South to the North. The blow given to the South, and the convulsion which would pervade its whole extent, would derange all the pursuits of industry, and drive the negroes to the North for subsistence. They would seek the free States also as the land of promise, and the North would soon be blackened by the ingress of Southern slaves. One of the first results of this emigration would be a

depreciation in the price of labour. The added number of labourers would, of itself, occasion this fall of prices; but the limited wants of the negro, which enable him to under-work the white labourer, would tend still further to produce this result. The honest white poor of the North would, therefore, be either thrown out of employment entirely by the blacks, or forced to descend to an equality with the negro, and work at his reduced prices. It behooves the working men of the North to look into this subject, and take efficient measures to ward off the fatal blow aimed at their rights and interests by the abolitionists. Let the mad scheme of abolition be carried into effect, and the honest poor of the North will be degraded into a state worse than that from which the slaves will be freed. The chains will be taken from the blacks of the South, and fastened upon the poor whites of the North. Degradation, suffering, and oppression will be their lot, thenceforth, for ever; and for the wretchedness thus entailed upon them, they may thank the *benevolence* of the fanatics.

The North already deplores, not without reason, the number of the free coloured population within her borders. The immense increase of that population, by abolition, would render the burthen thus inflicted upon the community, intolerable. With the increase of their strength, they would become more insolent and overbearing. Their idleness would render them dependent upon the industrious whites; their vices would urge them into crime; and our community would be filled with confusion, violence, and outrage. Our jails and alms-houses would overflow with the *lazaroni* thus crowded upon us; and the North would be afflicted with all the evils of a worthless coloured population—evils hitherto confined to the

South, but which abolition would spread over the whole country.

It cannot be supposed that this population, ignorant, insolent, and violent, would abstain from the exercise of the political rights extended to them by most of the Northern States. They would enter the arena with their united strength; and the whites would either be driven from the polls, or compelled to maintain their rights, by force. Bitter party conflicts between the blacks and whites, could not be prosecuted without violence; and among the other direful triumphs of abolition, our peaceful streets would be filled with the din of mortal conflict, and our cities exposed to the lust and rage of infuriated and savage negro mobs.

Let the North pause ere she consent to see her peace thus invaded, her safety endangered, and her happiness for ever destroyed. We are now an united, tranquil, and happy people; and every consideration of prudence and duty requires that we should not suffer, much less seek, the triumph of a measure which must involve us in the evils which it would inflict upon the South, and render the free and happy States of the North the scene of an eternal contest between the original white population and a black emigration, ignorant, savage, vicious, and idle. The hour that sees the slaves of the South emancipated, witnesses the prosperity and glory of the North clouded for ever.

If the scheme of emancipation should prove, as we are assured it must, ruinous in its influence on the industry and agriculture of the South, the blow would be still more severely felt at the North. If emancipation is attended here as in St. Domingo, with the destruction of the plantations, and the consequent failure to supply the usual exports, what will become of Northern commerce or manufactures?

Where will our vessels find employment? Whence will our manufactories procure their cotton, or where find their market? Without exports—and the mass of ours is raised at the South—the country must sink into irremediable penury. The blow will not be for a month, or a year, but for ever. It will fall upon the land, like palsy upon the limbs of age—nothing will turn its feebleness into strength, or restore the living principle which before animated it.

Of the consequences of abolition to the South it is difficult to speak in terms of moderation. The extent of those consequences cannot now be conceived; but we know enough, to give to the mad scheme of emancipation an aspect of unequalled horror.

One of the first consequences of emancipation would be the loss of the negro's labour. Indolent from constitution, the moment he is allowed the privilege of abstaining from toil, no persuasion, no inducement, not even the stern voice of necessity, can bring him back to it. In St. Domingo, the blacks are *forced* to toil by the most oppressive enactments, and labour literally at the point of the bayonet. The negro is the same every where, and, released from legal obligation, he would abandon all toil, and trust to chance for the necessaries of life. The plantations of the South would become, in consequence, unproductive. The wilderness would reclaim them; and the rich fields which now teem with fertility would, like the plantations of Hayti, revert to the forest. The pursuit of agriculture thus abandoned, the South must sink into poverty. The rich exports, now sent from that section of the Union, would no longer go forth, to bring back a return of wealth and comfort to the enterprizing planter. Penury and wretchedness would fall upon and blight the land. Its spirit would be broken down; industry and enterprise would be discouraged; capitalists

would emigrate with their wealth; and, with the general decay, even the proud political spirit of the South would be bowed to the dust. Abolition, if unloosed upon the South, will pass over it like a curse. He who visits it after its pestilential influence has been fully exerted, will find that prosperous portion of our happy country—*a desert*—still, lone, and melancholy.

The following remarks, upon the consequences of emancipation, were made by Judge Tucker, in 1803, long before the country was afflicted with an organized band of conspiring abolitionists. "The acrimony of the censures cast upon us must abate, at least in the breasts of the candid, when they consider the difficulties attendant upon any plan for the abolition of slavery, in a country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants are slaves; and where a still larger proportion of the cultivators of the earth are of that description. The extirpation of slavery from the United States is a task equally momentous and arduous. Human prudence forbids that we should precipitately engage in a work of such hazard, as a general and simultaneous emancipation. The mind of man is, in some measure, to be formed for his future condition. The early impressions of obedience and submission, which slaves have received among us, and the no less habitual arrogance and assumption of superiority among the whites, contribute equally to unfit the former for *freedom*, and the latter for *equality*. To expel them all at once from the United States, would, in fact, be to devote them only to a lingering death, by famine, by disease, and other accumulated miseries. To retain them among us, would be nothing more than to throw so many of the human race upon the earth without the means of subsistence; they would soon become idle, profligate, and miserable. They

would be unfit for their new condition, and unwilling to return to their former laborious course."

That it would be impossible to induce the emancipated negroes to work, and that the consequence would be the impoverishment and ruin of the entire South, we have the most conclusive evidence. Wherever the experiment has been tried it has failed. We will prove, in the next chapter, by a brief review of the history of St. Domingo, that emancipation has been there attended with every disaster which the most timid could have feared. The industry of that island has been annihilated. Brougham in his *Colonial Policy*, says, "The free negroes in the West Indies are, with very few exceptions, chiefly in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, equally averse to all sorts of labour which do not contribute to their immediate and most urgent wants. Improvident and careless of the future, they are not actuated by that principle which inclines more civilized men to equalize their exertions at all times, and to work after the necessaries of the day have been procured, in order to make up for the possible deficiencies of to-morrow; nor has their intercourse with the whites taught them to consider any gratification as worth obtaining, which cannot be produced by slight exertion of desultory and capricious industry." It appears that the same aversion to labour prevails in all the colonies. The author just quoted, says, that "M. Malouet, who bore a special commission from the general government to examine the character and habits of the Maroons in Dutch Guiana, and to determine whether or not they were adapted to become hired labourers, informs us that they will only work one day in the week, which they find abundantly sufficient, in the fertile soil and genial climate of the new world, to supply all the wants they have yet learnt to feel. The rest of their time

is spent in absolute indolence and sloth. *'Le repos,'* says he, *'et l'oisivete sont devenus dans leur etat social leur unique passion?'* He gives the very same description of the negroes in the French colonies, although many of them possessed lands and slaves. The spectacle, he tells us, was never yet exhibited of a free negro supporting his family by the culture of his little property. All other authors agree in giving the same description of free negroes in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, by whatever denomination they may be distinguished, whether Maroons, Caraibes, free blacks, or fugitive slaves. The Abbe Raynald, with all his ridiculous fondness for savages, cannot, in the present instance, so far twist the facts, according to his fancies and feelings, as to give a favourable portrait of this degraded race." The British colony at Sierra Leone, and our own at Liberia, both demonstrate the invincible aversion of the negro to regular labour. Indeed, wherever the experiment has been tried, it has produced the same result; and those who advocate the liberation of the slave must calculate upon the consequences to them and to the country, of a population of two millions and a quarter remaining in a state of complete sloth and idleness.

To add to the burthens and afflictions of the South, the emancipated population would acquire, with fearful rapidity, those vices from which their present restraint protects them. Drunkenness would sweep over the South like a destroying spirit; and every vice and every crime would follow in its track. Even if such a population could be held in subjection to the laws, how wasting and destructive a burthen would it prove?

But the most fearful consequence to be anticipated from emancipation, is the violence and insurrections of the manumitted slaves. That this violence would

be inevitable, cannot, we think, be doubted. Many causes would combine to render the vast population, thus suddenly freed from wonted restraint, fierce, unquiet, and insurrectionary. Idleness itself would prompt them to a war upon the whites, if for the mere enjoyment of excitement. The want that succeeds idleness would urge still more fiercely to hostilities. The vices that would flow in upon them, drunkenness, sensuality, and impatience of restraint, would also act as spurs to goad them on to deeds of violence and blood. Their conscious degradation could not fail to add to their discontent. To gain the mere means of subsistence, the blacks would be forced to work for their former masters; these masters, freed from the sense of duty and dependence which now softens their hearts towards the slave, would probably exhibit a degree of rapacity and cruelty now unknown. All these causes, with many others, would conspire to render the South the scene of constant violence and bloodshed. It is probable, however, that instead of multiplied and continued ebullitions of the dark passions of the negro, they would, in the confidence of their numbers, essay to make a general blow, and take possession of the whole Southern portion of our country. Many captivating inducements would urge them to this course. The gratification of their ungoverned passions, their lust, their love of blood, and their hatred of the whites, would combine with the desire to secure the wealth of the citizens, possess their cities, seize their plantations, and prosecute those pursuits which, in the hands of the whites, have been attended with such great success and profit.

The following extract from a speech by the celebrated Mr. Canning, beautifully illustrates the dangers of negro emancipation. "In dealing with a negro, we must remember that we are dealing with

a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance, the hero of which constructs a human form with all the physical capabilities of man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant; but, being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds, too late, that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made."

Professor Dew thus speaks of the consequence of emancipation. "The great evil of these schemes of emancipation, remains yet to be told. They are admirably calculated to excite plots, murders, and insurrections; whether gradual or rapid in their operations, this is the inevitable tendency. In the former case, you disturb the quiet and contentment of the slave who is left unemancipated, and he becomes the midnight murderer to gain that fatal freedom whose blessings he does not comprehend. In the latter case, want and invidious distinction will prompt to revenge. Two totally different races, as we have before seen, cannot easily harmonize together; and although we have no idea that any organized plan of insurrection or rebellion can ever secure for the black the superiority, even when free, yet his idleness will produce want and worthlessness, and his very worthlessness and degradation will stimulate him to deeds of rapine and vengeance; he will oftener engage in plots and massacres, and thereby draw down on his devoted head the vengeance of the provoked whites. But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history; let her liberate her slaves, and every year you would hear

of insurrections and plots, and every day would perhaps record a murder; the melancholy tale of Southampton would not alone blacken the page of our history, and make the tender mother shed the tear of horror over her babe as she clasped it to her bosom; others of a deeper dye would thicken upon us; those regions where the brightness of polished life has dawned and brightened into full day, would relapse into darkness thick and full of horrors."

The consequences of servile insurrection in the South cannot be adequately portrayed. From the revolt of the gladiators under Spartacus, 70 B. C., to the insurrection in Barbadoes in 1816, the same scene of horror has attended every servile contest. The madness which a sudden freedom from restraint begets—the overpowering burst of long-buried passion—the wild frenzy of revenge, and the savage lust for blood, all unite to give to the warfare of liberated slaves, traits of cruelty and crime which nothing earthly can equal. Fiends let loose upon the earth could not wage a more desolating war upon its inhabitants. The torrent of blood once let loose, it sweeps the old and young, the innocent and guilty, the hoary sire and the blooming maid, in one undistinguished mass before it. Should such a contest take place in this country, if the negro triumphed, the South would be left a blackened and solitary waste. It is not, however, probable that brutal force would succeed, in a contest against skill, prudence, and science. The blacks would probably be subdued, and, as their cruelties would excite against them the bitterest hatred, perhaps exterminated. But, before this result could take place, the blacks would, in all human probability, obtain possession of extensive portions of the country, and extend their ravages to the desolation of large tracts of territory, and the murder of tens or hundreds of

thousands of innocent victims. There can be no exaggeration of the horrors which would ensue wherever they attained power. The most savage of the Indian tribes—the very cannibals—excel them in mildness and humanity. Their career is one of unmixed desolation. They would burn every mansion—they would destroy every vestige of industry and its triumphs—fire and sword would sweep over the land, and leave behind them no traces of life—nothing but a black and blasted heath. The inhabitants would be slaughtered with every cruelty which ingenious malice could devise. The father or the husband would be reserved to witness the violation of the daughter or the wife; and helpless females would be spared to glut the savage and brutal passions of their demoniac captors, amid the palpitating bodies of murdered kindred, and the shrieks of those reserved for peculiar and lingering torture. Better that a blast from Heaven, like that which fell upon Sodom and Gomorrah, should burst upon the South, and destroy it utterly and for ever, than that it should be transformed into a *pandemonium*, where these human fiends may hold their infernal orgies, their Saturnalia of lust and blood. Such are the triumphs of abolition. Two millions and a half of negroes, hardy, robust, ferocious, ignorant and brutal, let loose upon our brethren of the South—chartered to rob, burn, violate, and murder—to sweep the fair South like a pestilence—and leave it an added monument of the horrors of fanaticism. History has no page which can afford a picture so fearful, so revolting, so full of dread. True we have examples of negro revolt—of the midnight conflagration, and the noon-tide massacre—scenes of lust, cruelty, and horror, over which the arch fiend himself might sicken; but they were contracted in extent, and temporary in duration. Ours may spread

over a continent, and destroy a people—*and that people our brethren!*

Yet the authors of these evils affect to be moved by considerations of philanthropy! What a guilty mockery is it to apply such a word to their schemes of rapine and bloodshed. Philanthropy! Do they consider it philanthropic to sound the war blast through a land before peaceful and happy? Does their philanthropy teach them to haunt the pillow of the fair and spotless females of the South, with dreams and images of dread and horror? Is it philanthropic, to excite the negro of the South to insurrection; to set one portion of our country against another, and fill the bosoms of our people with stormy passions or excited fears? Philanthropy, as heretofore understood, seeks the happiness of the race. It is the shadow of the *Prince of Peace.* Its form is mild and benignant—its agents are persuasive and gentle: hope precedes, and rejoicing follows in its path. It has nought to do with the stormy and the terrific: its task is not to sound the war drum, nor to preside over midnight conclaves of treason and insurrection. The philanthropy of the abolitionists is a *Moloch*, with a brow spotted with blood, and hands crimsoned in slaughter. It leads on the slave to the murder of the whites; and presides over the scene, where the cot of our southern brethren blazes to the skies, while the murdered forms of its manly inmates mingle with its ashes, and the female loveliness they perished in protecting is consigned to a doom worse than the grave. Such is the spirit they let loose—and upon whom? Upon our own brethren—those knit to us by the closest and holiest ties—those who, in the hour of our danger, have always opened their breasts, and bared their arms, in our defence—the refined, the

chivalrous, the patriotic, and devoted Americans of the South!*

But the consequences of emancipation to the slave himself, should not be overlooked. They are now tranquil and contented; they are well fed, well clothed; debarred from those indulgences so dangerous to the negro, and secured in the enjoyment of all that is really valuable to him. When emancipated, he loses the friend that sustained him in youth and age, in sickness and distress. He is without land, without money, without experience, or intelligence, but more than all, without habits of self restraint. Thus situated, he must sink to the lowest wretchedness. Idleness, poverty, drunkenness, vice, suffering, and discontent will ensue. "You may manumit a slave," says an able writer, "but you cannot make him a white man. He still remains a negro or mulatto. The mark and recollection of his origin, and former state, still adhere to him; the feelings produced by that condition, in his own mind and the minds of the whites, still exist. The authority of the master being removed, and its place not being supplied by moral restraints, or incitement, he lives in idleness, and probably in vice, and obtains a precarious support, by begging

* "Should the poor blacks of the South be instigated to another insurrection by the agency of the abolitionists at the North, and a servile war ensue—followed, as it might be to extermination, and as it would be, by all the untold and unutterable miseries of such a contest, whose skirts will be stained with the blood that would flow? Upon whom might the widow charge the agony she was doomed to suffer? At whose doors would lie the guilt of ravished innocence? To whom would the orphan have occasion to point as the murderer of his parents? These are solemn considerations, which some of our very neighbours may yet be called upon solemnly to answer—perhaps at a more awful bar than any upon earth!" —*N. Y. Com. Adv.*

or theft. If he should avoid these extremes, and follow some regular course of industry, still the habits of thoughtless improvidence which he contracted while a slave himself, or has caught from the slaves, among whom he is forced to live, who, of necessity, are his companions and associates, prevent him from making any permanent provision for his support, by prudent foresight and economy; and in case of sickness, or bodily disability from any other cause, send him to live as a pauper, at the expense of the community." This description is intended for the emancipated slave under our present institutions: the emancipation of more than two millions would, of course, greatly heighten the evils mentioned by Mr. Harper, and add others still more formidable.

The consequences of the emancipation of slaves, when unfit for freedom, have uniformly been calamitous to those emancipated. The following instances we derive from Dew's work on this subject.

"We have already said, in the course of this review, that if we were to liberate the slaves, we could not, in fact, alter their condition—they would still be virtually slaves; talent, habit and wealth, would make the white the master still, and the emancipation would only have the tendency to deprive him of those sympathies and kind feelings for the black, which now characterize him. Liberty has been the heaviest curse to the slave, when given too soon; we have already spoken of the eagerness and joy, with which the negroes of Mr. Steele, of Barbadoes, returned to a state of slavery. The East of Europe affords hundreds of similar instances. In 1791, Stanislaus Augustus, preparing a hopeless resistance to the threatened attack of Russia, in concert with the states, gave to Poland a constitution which established the complete personal free-

dom of the peasantry. The boon has never been recalled, and what was the consequence? Finding, says Jones, in his volume on Rents, their dependence on their proprietors for subsistence remained undiminished, the peasants showed no very grateful sense of the boon bestowed on them; they feared they should now be deprived of all claim upon their proprietors for assistance, when calamity or infirmity overtook them. It is only since they have discovered that the *connection* between them and the owners of the estates, on which they reside, *is little altered in practice*, and that their old masters, very generally, *continue*, from expediency or humanity, the occasional aid they formerly lent them, that they have become *reconciled* to their new character of freemen. "The Polish boors are, therefore, *in fact* still *slaves*," says Bennet, in his view of the Present State of Poland, "and relatively to their political existence, absolutely subject to the will of their lords as in all the barbarism of the feudal times.

"In Livonia, likewise, the serfs were prematurely liberated; and mark the consequence. Van Halen, who travelled through Livonia, in 1819, observes, "along the high road through Livonia, are found, at short distances, filthy public houses, called in the country *Rhatcharuas*, before the doors of which are usually seen, a multitude of wretched carts and sledges, belonging to the peasants, who are so addicted to brandy and strong liquors, that they spend whole hours in those places. Nothing proves so much the state of barbarism, in which these men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree issued about this time. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, *made all the resistance in their power*

to that decree, the execution of which was, at length, entrusted *to an armed force.*"

The following picture of Guatemala, extracted from "Dunn's Sketches of Guatemala, in 1827—28," will exhibit the effects of emancipation in that place. "With a Lazaroni in rags and filth, a *coloured population drunken and revengeful*, her females licentious, and her males shameless, she ranks as a true child of that accursed city which still remains as a living monument of the fulfilment of prophecy, and the forbearance of God, the hole of every foul spirit, the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The pure and simple sweets of domestic life, with its thousand tendernesses, and its gentle affections, are here exchanged for the feverish joys of a dissipated hour; and the peaceable home of love is converted into a theatre of mutual accusations and recriminations. This leads to violent excesses; *men carry a large knife in a belt; women, one fastened in the garter. Not a day passes without murder.* On fast days, and on Sundays, the average number killed is from four to five. From the number admitted into the hospital of St. Juan Dios, it appears that in the year 1827, near fifteen hundred were stabbed; of whom, from three to four hundred died. Nor is the freed African one degree raised in the scale—*under fewer restraints, his vices display themselves more disgustingly; insolent and proud, indolent and a liar,* he imitates only the vices of his superiors; and, to the catalogue of his former crimes, adds drunkenness and theft."

But the wretchedness which results from destitution and vice, would not be the only evil that would wait upon the emancipated slave. Collision with his master *would* take place. Under the circumstances, we conceive it to be inevitable. Can the

abolitionist suppose, for one moment, that the results of such a conflict would be favourable to the slave? A philosophical writer has justly observed, that "power can never be dislodged from the hands of the intelligent, the wealthy, and the courageous, by any plans that can be formed by the poor, the ignorant, and the habitually subservient; history scarce furnishes such an example." The slaves might ravage the South, and murder hecatombs of victims—but they would be at length subdued. And would their situation be improved? Would their masters feel more kindly to them after such a contest? Would their privileges be extended, or their condition improved? Would their cruelties plead in their favour? Would the remembrance of violated purity, and slaughtered feebleness stir up the gentle affections of the slaveholder; and, standing upon his blackened hearth-stone, would his breast flow out in kindness to the demons who had effected the ruin? A war with the whites must produce horrors unutterable. The whites would suffer terribly—but awful would be their retribution; and if the negroes survived the contest, it would be to curse the traitors who fomented the quarrel.

CHAPTER XXI.

St. Domingo before the revolution—Insurrection originated in the policy of France—Amis des Noirs—Agitation of the Colony by the French —Domestic Dissensions — Ogé—Insurrection —French Commissioners proclaim abolition of Slavery—Massacres—Cruelty of revolted Slaves—Touissant—Le Clerc lands—Evacuates the Island — Dessalines — Massacres— Christophe—Petion—Boyer—Present state of Hayti—Government—Population—Character of Inhabitants—Agriculture—Commerce— Free Labour—Finances—Army, &c.

In the present chapter, we will be enabled only to present the prominent features of the history of the revolution of Hayti, and its consequences as developed in the present condition of that island. It is to be regretted, that our citizens are not generally more familiar with that history. It abounds in truths highly important in the present political state of this country; and would do much, if understood, to dissipate the disastrous and malign influence of the abolitionists.

"The question," said Mr. Canning, when arguing this subject in the English parliament, "to be decided is, how civil rights, moral improvement, and general happiness are to be communicated to this overpowering multitude of slaves, with safety to the lives, and security to the interests *of the white po*

pulation, our fellow subjects, and fellow citizens. Is it possible that there can be a difference of opinion on this question? Is it possible that those most nearly concerned, and those who contemplate the great subject with the eye of the philosopher and the moralist, should look at it in any other than one point of view?"—Let the question alluded to by the great statesman be decided by a reference to the example of St. Domingo.

At the commencement of the French revolution, the island of St. Domingo was in the highest state of prosperity. Its inhabitants were tranquil and contented; its soil was cultivated with the greatest skill and assiduity. The sugar cane, the coffee tree, and other articles of tropical culture, were produced in abundance. "In the year 1791," says St. Mery, a writer of great credit, "there were in the French division alone, 793 sugar estates, 789 cotton plantations, 3117 of coffee, 3150 of indigo, 54 cocoa manufactories, and 623 smaller settlements. There were also 40,000 horses, 50,000 mules, and 250,000 cattle and sheep; and the quantity of land actually in cultivation was about 2,289,480 acres." Mr. Edwards and others state the amount of exports as follows: 163,400,000 pounds of sugar; 68,150,000 pounds of coffee; 6,286,000 pounds of cotton; 930,000 pounds of indigo; 29,000 hogsheads of molasses, &c. Walton says, that the amount of exports was about six millions and ninety-four thousand, two hundred and thirty pounds, English money. The population was, at the same time, 40,000 whites, 28,000 free persons of colour, and about 455,000 slaves; and the valuation of the plantations in culture was about seventy millions sterling. This, it must be remembered, does not comprise the Spanish division—one third of the whole island.

The insurrection in St. Domingo did not com-

mence with the blacks. They were tranquil and happy, until the madmen of the mother country, ignorant and fanatical, excited them to discontent and rebellion. Franklin, in his "Present State of Hayti," says—"It has been erroneously thought by some persons, who feel interested in the fate of the slave population of the West Indies, or, at all events, they have, with no little industry, propagated the impression, that the revolution in Hayti began with the revolt of the blacks, when it is evident, from the very best authors, and from the testimony of people now living, who were present during its opening scenes, that such was not the fact; and that the slaves remained perfectly tranquil for two years after the celebrated Declaration of Rights was promulgated in France." This is an important fact, and should not be lost sight of.

The first cause of the Haytien revolution was the organization of an abolition Society in France, called "Amis des Noirs"—Friends of the Blacks. This society, with one of like character in London, by a systematic and vigorous course of agitation on the subject of slavery, succeeded in enlisting the French government in the support of their views, and of exciting the people of St. Domingo, particularly the mulattoes, to discontent. So strong was the excitement in France against the colonial planters that, says a writer on this subject, "their total annihilation was threatened." The resemblance between this menace and those of the anti-slavery men in this country will be recognised. We hope that the results will not bear an equal resemblance.

In 1789, a deputation of the coloured people of St. Domingo waited upon the French National Assembly, to crave a recognition of their alleged rights. The assembly gave them a favourable answer; and some of the members individually expressed their

determination to advocate the emancipation of the slaves.

The free mulattoes in the colony were the first to catch the spirit of insurrection thus fomented by the French. They claimed a participation in the government, revolted, and, though subdued, were still encouraged by the French.

The commotions caused by the policy of the French government having endangered the colony to the crown, the National Assembly in 1790 disavowed the intention of altering the domestic institutions of the island.

The colony, however, continued in a disturbed state. The whites were divided; the mulattoes, a free and powerful body of people, were urgent in asserting their claims; and the administration and legislature were at open war. So high did these dissensions rise, that the governor dissolved the Assembly; the members of which sailed to France, to appeal to the king and National Assembly.

Ogé, a mulatto, educated in France, and filled by the French fanatics with insurrectionary principles and feelings, about this time arrived in St. Domingo. He raised the banner of insurrection, and was joined by a number of coloured people, but was defeated, taken, and executed. Ogé, it is said, was encouraged by the English abolitionists.

The slaves, during all these commotions, remained quiet, neither dreaming of, nor desiring, a change of their condition.

The members of the Assembly were, on their arrival at France, arrested; the government of the colony was sustained in its policy; and troops were sent to St. Domingo, to protect the governor in his insidious efforts in favour of the coloured population. The news of the execution of Ogé also excited great indignation in the French legislature.

Robespierre, the great champion of abolition, said—"Perish the colonies, rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles." The policy thus recommended was pursued, and *the colony did* perish. The French legislature at once raised the mulattoes, or people of colour, to the full privileges of French citizens, being allowed all the rights of the whites. This law was passed in May, 1791.

This decree was received, by the colonies, with such violence and resentment, that the governor was constrained to promise that it should not go into operation. The mulattoes, however, flew to arms, and insisted upon its recognition. "Here," says Franklin, "it will be perceived the first serious symptoms of tumult and insubordination appeared, not from any revolt of the slave population, but from the unhappy interference of the National Assembly of France, influenced by the supporters and advocates of the people of colour, and the society *Amis des Noirs.*"

He proceeds to state, that, had this interference been declined, St. Domingo would have remained tranquil, the negro cultivators would have been happier than they have been rendered, and oceans of human blood would have been spared.

The same statement is made by other writers, and is so completely borne out by the historical facts, that we believe no attempt has been made to contradict it. The important lesson involved in the statement, should not be lost upon this country.

The first act of open rebellion took place, on the Cape, in August, 1791. The slaves murdered the whites and burned all the improvements. The slaves of the neighbouring plantations joined them; and the whole South was threatened with ruin. "The barbarity," says Franklin, "which marked their progress exceeds description; an indiscrimi-

nate slaughter of the whites ensued, except in instances where some of the females were reserved for a more wretched doom, being made to submit to the brutal lusts, of the most sanguinary wretches that ever disgraced humanity. Cases are upon record, where the most amiable of the female sex were first brought forth to see their parents inhumanly butchered, and were afterwards compelled to submit to the embraces of the very villain who acted as their executioner. The distinctions of age had no effect on these ruthless savages; for even girls of twelve and fourteen years, were made the objects of satiating their lust and revenge. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the white people; and the lamentations of the unhappy women struck every one with horror. Such a scene of massacre has scarcely been heard of, as that which accompanied the commencement of the revolution in the South."

Some of the mulattoes joined the blacks; and with their united force, gained several advantages over the troops sent against them and extended their ravages over the country.

"The defeat of the whites," says Franklin, "was followed by a scene of cruelties and butcheries which exceeds imagination; almost every individual who fell into the hands of the revolters, met with a wretched end, tortures of the most shocking description being resorted to by these blood-thirsty savages."

It is deserving of remark, and should be remembered, that a number of Frenchmen encouraged and assisted these revolts; and Mackenzie, in his notes on Hayti, says, "*The priests are accused of having sanctioned the murderous proceedings of the negro chiefs, and several were executed.*" So fiendlike is the temper of fanaticism.

The danger of the whites induced them to enter into a treaty with the coloured people, called the *concordat*, by which they agreed to unite for mutual defence against the negroes. By the concordat, the national decree elevating the coloured people to the rights of citizens, was recognized. But scarcely was this union effected, before it was blasted, by the arrival of another decree from France, abrogating the former one, and restoring the coloured population to their former state of inferiority. The confusion created by this inconsistency, was still further heightened, by the subsequent arrival of still another decree, re-establishing the first and re-elevating the coloured people to an equality with the whites. Thus were all hopes of union and effectual defence overthrown, by the imprudence and ignorance of the abolitionists of the mother country.

The ravages of the slaves, meanwhile, continued. The loss of the whites was extensive, but not equal to that of the slaves. It is estimated, that 10,000 slaves perished, by the sword and by famine, in the first revolt in the South. In their encounters with the whites, they exhibited no courage; and when successful, it was wholly to be ascribed to their immense superiority of numbers. Cowardly, ignorant, and unprovided with military resources, they were cut down by thousands, and might have been readily suppressed, had not the policy of the National Government divided and distracted the free inhabitants of the colony.

The anti-slavery men of France, instead of being taught wisdom by the awful consequences of their imprudences, succeeded in passing, on the 4th of April, a decree directly contemplating complete emancipation, elevating the free negroes and coloured people to complete equality with the whites, and

directing, that 8,000 of the national guards be sent out to enforce the decree. This fatal decree was forcibly opposed by the colonists; and the French Commissioners, sent over to enforce it, finding themselves unable to subdue their opponents, "called in the aid of the revolted slaves, offering them their freedom, and promising that the city of the Cape should be given up for plunder." Thus we perceive the foreign abolitionists joining the slaves, and aiding them in the perpetration of the atrocities which desolated the island. "Men, women, and children," says Franklin, "were, without distinction, unmercifully slaughtered by these barbarians; and those who had escaped the first rush into the city, and had reached the water side, for the purpose of getting on board the ships in the harbour, were intercepted and their retreat cut off by these merciless wretches, just at the moment when arrangements had been accomplished for their embarkation. Here the mulattoes had an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; here they had arrived at the summit of their greatest ambition and glory; here it was that these cowardly and infamous parricides, gorged with human blood, sacrificed their own parents, and afterwards subjected their bodies to every species of insult and indignity; here it was that these disciples of Robespierre—this injured and oppressed race—the theme of Gregoire's praise, and the subject of his appeal and harangue, showed themselves worthy disciples of such masters! If any thing were wanting to establish the fact of these scenes being unexampled, and without a parallel, one thing, I am sure, will alone be sufficient, and that is, that the commissioners, those amiable representatives of the national assembly, the *immaculate* Santhonax, and the equally *humane* and *virtuous* Polverel, those vicegerents of the

society of *Amis des Noirs*, those protectors of the mulattoes, were struck with horror at the scene which was presented to them, and repaired to the ships, there to become spectators of the effects of their own crimes, and of a splendid and opulent city devoured by the flames which had been lighted by the torch of anarchy and rebellion."*

* When the revolters first entered the city, every man, woman, and child, were bayoneted or cut down with such instruments as they could muster; but the young females were, in most cases, spared for the momentary gratification of the lust of those into whose hands they fell; one case of the most singular enormity took place:—the leader of the revolted slaves, named Gautier, had entered the house of a respectable merchant in the square, in which were the proprietor, his wife, his two sons and three daughters. The sons were young, not exceeding the age of ten, but the daughters were elegant young women, the eldest about eighteen, and the youngest not exceeding fourteen. Gautier, assisted by one or two wretches, equally inhuman, promised to spare the family, on account of his having received many acts of kindness from the father, to whom he was often sent by his master on business, he being a domestic slave. These poor creatures, who were at first half expiring from the terror of the scene around them, and from the idea of being the captives of barbarians, recovered somewhat from the alarm into which they had been thrown, through the promises of security, thus unconditionally pledged to them; and although not permitted to go out of the sight of their captors, they did not apprehend that any mischief was in embryo, and that their lives were to be sacrificed. Impressed with the idea of safety, they proceeded to prepare a repast for their supposed guardians, and set it before them in the same splendour, as they were wont to do, when receiving their best and dearest friends. Gautier drank freely, and his compeers did no little justice to the rich repast. Night coming on, and apprehensive of the consequences of a surprise from the enemy's force, they began to deliberate upon what plan they should adopt to secure their unhappy captives from flight, when, not being able to devise any thing likely to be effectual, they came to the savage resolution of murdering them all. The daughters were locked up in a room, under

Many of the planters having applied to England for aid, the commissioners from France, to enable themselves to raise a force sufficient to defend the island from any attempts by the English troops, "*proclaimed the abolition of every species of slavery, declaring that the negroes were thenceforth to be considered as free citizens*"—and thereby, says Franklin, "assigned over, to a lawless banditti, the fee-simple of every property in the French part of the island of St. Domingo, placing every white inhabitant within almost the grasp of a set of people insensible to every feeling of humanity, rude and ruthless as in their native wilds." The consequences were such as might have been expected. A charter was given to crime. Blood flowed in torrents; lust and violation were made things of custom; and the population lost almost the traits which distinguish humanity from the brute. Franklin, in concluding his account of this sanguinary commencement of the revolution, reiterates that "the cause of those disturbances did not proceed from the oppression and the tyranny practised

the watch of two of the revolters, whilst the remainder of them commenced the bloody task by bayoneting the two sons. The mother, on her knees, imploring mercy with pitiful cries, met with the same fate; whilst the husband, who was bound hand and foot, was barbarously mangled by having, first his arms, and then his legs cut off, and afterwards run through the body. During this blood-thirsty scene, the daughters, ignorant of the tragic end of their parents, were in a state of alarm and terror not to be described, yet hoping that their lives were safe. But, alas! how deceitful that hope! for their destiny was fixed and their time but short. Gautier and his diabolical associates, went into their room, stripped them naked, and committed on their defenceless persons the most brutal enormities, when, with the dead bodies of their parents, they were thrown into the flames, which were then surrounding them, where they all perished.—*Franklin.*

over the slaves, but from the measures of the national assembly, the colonial assemblies, and by that specious and intriguing body, the Society of *Amis des Noirs*, (the Anti-Slavery Society of France,) and the coloured people then residing in France, who had been tainted with the pernicious doctrines then prevailing in that country."

Immediately after the abolition of slavery, by the representatives of the French Government, the slaves rose simultaneously in the different parishes, formed into bodies, took possession of the mountains, and secured themselves in the fastnesses of the island. They then sallied forth, spreading desolation around them, burning and destroying the plantations, demolishing every description of habitation, and murdering every white inhabitant that fell into their power. In one part of the colony the insurgents amounted to more than 100,000 men, without any leader who had the least command over them. In the North, their force, at first 25,000, soon increased to 40,000, of the most desperate and sanguinary character.

On the 19th of September, 1793, an English force landed in the island and occupied the posts of Jeremie and Nicholas Mole. The act of abolition having removed all cause of war between the French Government and the blacks, the French soldiers and the natives united to oppose the English. It is unnecessary to recite the details of this destructive and sanguinary war. It continued for five years, with various success, and was terminated in 1798, by the evacuation of the island by the British.

At the period of the evacuation of the island by the British, Gen. Hidouville, agent of the French Directory, elevated two negro chieftians, Touissant and Rigaud, to the rank of Generals in Chief. This

created a motive of contention not to be resisted. The slaughter was recommenced by the rival chiefs; and a war of extermination carried on until 1800, when Rigaud was expelled from the island, and Touissant left in supreme power.

Touissant did his utmost to raise the island from the depths into which it had fallen. He was acquainted with the negro character, and ruled with a rod of iron. No despotism could have been more illimitable in its power. He encouraged the planters to return to their estates, and issued, in 1800, an edict, requiring the people, who had abandoned all regular labour, to return to their agricultural pursuits. The regulation of labour was the same as those of the slaves in the English West Indies, both in the extent and intensity of the labour. The system was severe, but successful. "If degradation accompanied labour," says the historian, "the cultivators under Touissant were the most abject people in existence, for they were driven to it under the strong arm of military power, and for any offence which they committed they were liable to be brought before a military tribunal. There were no civil authorities by which the indolent or refractory cultivator was to be tried for his offences; there was no distinction between the vagrant, who was detected in idleness, and the soldier who fled from his post, they were both answerable to the military, power, were sentenced by court martial, and awarded an equal punishment." The regulations of the despotic Touissant, though they inflicted upon the negroes a bondage and servitude, more oppressive than the sway of their former masters, proved wise and salutary, and did much to improve the state of the country, and the condition of the people.

In 1802, the French Government determined to restore the island to its former condition, as a colo-

ny of France, to re-establish slavery, and reinstate the planters in their original properties. To effect this, an expedition of 25,000 men, under General Le Clerc, landed in the island. They succeeded, after a protracted struggle, in getting possession of Touissant, who was sent to France. The war was however renewed under Christophe and Dessalines, the leaders of the negroes, and was prosecuted with the most sanguinary fury. After a struggle of unexampled ferocity, the French were, in November, 1803, forced to evacuate the island. The loss of the French army in this war is estimated at 62,000. The loss of the negroes, in battle and by famine, must have been much greater.

On the first of January, 1804, Hayti was declared independent. Dessalines, who had been invested with the chief command, on the departure of the French, permitted those who wished it, to leave the island, but in the most solemn manner, promised protection and security, to those who preferred remaining. The inhabitants availed themselves of this offer of clemency, and remained. But scarcely were they in the power of this monster, before he invited, by a general call, the people to revenge their wrongs, and execute vengeance on the whites. "The white French people, therefore," says Franklin, "were indiscriminately sacrificed. No age nor sex was spared; the brutal soldiers, led on by their merciless officers, ran from door to door, and left not one alive whom they could find within; the females, whose amiable softness might have stayed the hand of the savage in his native wilds, first endured the most dreadful violation, and then were bayoneted and most shockingly mangled."

This massacre of an entire population, was succeeded by an act of crafty ferocity, which history cannot parallel. "He gave out by proclamation,

that, as he intended to stay his vengeance for the sufferings to which his brethren had been exposed, all those who had escaped execution under his military decree, should appear at an appointed spot, for the purpose of receiving tickets, which might in future protect them from the vengeance of the people; and many who had been fortunate enough to escape, as they thought, in the first massacre, became the victims of the second; for no sooner did these unsuspecting and deluded creatures obtain what they conceived an assurance, that their lives would be spared, than leaving their hiding places, they ran with eagerness, to the place announced for issuing the tickets, when they were immediately seized and led away for instant execution."

On the 8th of October, Dessalines was crowned emperor of Hayti. The emperor was scarcely seated on his throne, before he endeavoured to revive the African slave-trade. His object was to procure labourers, which were required for the cultivation of the lands. He entered into a negotiation with the English; and offered to give an exclusive grant for the prosecution of the trade, but was unable to induce them to embark in it.

The code of Touissant was revived, to cause the inhabitants to labour. Of this Franklin remarks, "Whatever may be said about the freedom of the cultivators, by the advocates of free labour, I must be permitted to say, that no instance has yet been adduced of such freedom in practice, and that the code of Touissant, which was acted upon by his successor, exhibits greater proof of the existence of coercion than any thing I have seen."

Dessalines was murdered on the 17th of October, 1806, and Christophe succeeded him. Christophe however, found a competitor in Petion; and a war ensued. The former obtained and kept the com-

mand of the Northern part of the island, and Petion retained the control of the South.

An incident, which occurred in the commencement of Christophe's reign, affords a good example to the abolitionists of the North, and proves that even the barbarous negro chieftain had a better sense of the rights of others than the philanthropic zealots who interfere with the institutions of our southern states. Discovering that some individuals in the island were intriguing to excite insurrection in the island of Jamaica, he had them arrested, and brought to punishment, for violating the rights of an independent and stranger community.

The reign of Christophe was severe, tyrannical, and despotic, while the government of Petion was relaxed and mild. The former was successful and efficient; the latter feeble and unfortunate. The former *coerced* his subjects—for his subjects were his slaves—to labour, and agriculture and commerce partially revived; the latter endeavoured by gentle measures to induce his people to toil, and soon saw his government bankrupt, and his people vicious, idle, and impoverished.

In 1818 Petion died, and was succeeded by Boyer. Christophe also died in 1820; and the whole island was then consolidated under the government of Boyer. From that period to the present the history of Hayti presents no event worthy of mention in this brief review.

We will now take a cursory view of the condition and government of Hayti, to ascertain whether an experiment, which cost seas of blood, has resulted in an amelioration of the condition of the people.

The government is called a republic. The president holds his office for life, and appoints his successor; he appoints all functionaries; proposes all laws, except those connected with taxation; can issue

proclamations in conformity with the laws, and compel obedience. "In short," says Mackenzie, "the whole power of the state is centred in the chief, except in points which may be easily nullified." The President, in truth, is despotic.

The population of the island previous to the revolution was estimated at 643,000. The population in 1802 was estimated by Humboldt at 375,000. Such were the ravages of the revolution. The population in 1826 appears to have been 423,042. The increase of population is estimated at sixty-one hundredths per cent, which is very little more than one half the increase in densely peopled countries. The people of Hayti are universally described as idle, improvident, licentious, and immoral. Mackenzie, the British consul, in his report to government says,—"No measures of the government can induce the young creoles to labour, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy." "The few young females that live on plantations seldom assist in any labour whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery. This is tolerated by the soldiery and military police, whose licentiousness is gratified by this means." "Marriage, formally solemnized, is not so common as unions of another kind; and it is not uncommon for one man to be the protector of many women."

"In the interior," says Franklin, "the people are in the lowest state of moral degradation—every thing shows it—their habits and manner of living. In secluded places they congregate and follow all the propensities of nature; and indulge in all the vices of lust and sensuality, without limits, and without control. It is not possible, I think, for any one to visit their habitations without returning from them with the conviction that their present state is much below anything that can be imagined to have existed

in the worst state of society in any part of the world. In the new republics of South America, in which society is very backward also, the prevailing habits present some appearance of improvement; but in the country districts of Hayti there are no demonstrations of advancement from that deplorable ignorance in which they seem to have existed from the period of the revolution; no change in their loose and dissolute manners and customs, but a fixed and determined perseverance in all the primitive vices of the African race."

The catholic is the established religion of the country. It is stated, however, that a large portion of the inhabitants differ but little in their religion from their African ancestors. "Three fourths of them," says Franklin, "are as rank idolaters as their forefathers were in Africa." The clergy consists in all of *thirty-eight pastors*, for the whole republic.

In relation to the agriculture of Hayti, Mr. Mackenzie has collected much valuable and authentic information. The rulers, who have at different times swayed that unhappy country since the revolution, established different codes regulating the labour of the people. All these codes discarded the notion of free labour, and coerced the people to toil. The most severe of these codes proved the wisest and most salutary in its results. Under Touissant "the whip was abolished; but thick sticks, the stems of creeping plants, called in Hayti 'lianes,' were used without scruple; and, not unfrequently, the sabre, the musket, and *even burying alive*, were resorted to as punishments for refractory gangs, or ateliers." The same punishments were used under Dessalines. The code rural, which now regulates the labour of the people, is thus described by Mackenzie: "Many of the regulations correspond with some contained

in the code noir and the subsequent laws of Christophe; but the consequences of delinquency are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived."

The following table of the exports from 1789 to 1826, will exhibit the ruinous consequences of the revolution. A comparison of the present amount raised, with the amount raised before the revolution, will show the comparative advantages of slave and free negro labour.

A General Table of Exports from Hayti during the years 1789, 1801, *and from* 1818 *to* 1826.

Year	Clayed sugar.	Muscavado sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Cocoa.	Indigo.	Molasses.	Dye woods	Tobacco.	Cast. Oil.	Mahogany	Cigars.
	lbs.	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*gal.*	*feet.*	
1789	47,516,531	93,573,300	76,835,219	7,004,274		758,628	25,749					
1801	16,540	18,518,572	43,420,270	2,480,340	648,518	804	99,419	6,768,634			5,217	
1818	198	5,443,567	26,065,200	474,118	434,368			6,819,300	19,140	121	129,962	
1819	157	3,796,143	29,240,919	216,103	370,439			3,094,409	39,698	711	141,577	
1820	2,787	2,514,592	35,137,759	346,839	556,424			1,919,748	97,600	157	129,509	
1821		6,934	29,925,951	820,563	264,792			3,728,186	76,400		55,005	
1822		2,454	24,235,372	592,368	464,154		211,927	8,295,080	588,957		2,622,277	279,000
1823		14,920	33,802,837	332,256	335,540			6,607,308	387,014		2,369,047	393,800
1824		5,106	44,269,084	1,028,045	461,694	1,240		3,858,151	718,679		2,181,747	175,000
1825		2,020	36,034,300	815,697	339,937			3,948,193	503,425		2,986,469	
1826		32,864	32,189,784	620,972	457,592			5,307,745	340,588		2,136,984	179,500

Gum Guaiacum, in 1822, 7,338 lbs.—1823, 13,956 lbs.—1824, 68,692 lbs.

"The general results of this table," observes Mr. Mackenzie, from whose valuable work we extract it, "appear fully to justify the conclusion of the decline of systematic industry, and of the advance of whatever, though chiefly done by nature, may be finished at uncertain periods by man."

Every traveller in Hayti describes its present aspect, as melancholy in the extreme. That opulent island has been allowed, by the slothful inhabitants, to revert almost to a state of nature. The buildings are destroyed; the mills overthrown; the fertile valleys overgrown; and the whole country, with few exceptions, left to run waste. We have not space for extracts to sustain this assertion, but refer the reader to "Mackenzie's Notes on Hayti," and "Franklin's Present State of Hayti."

"It is indisputable," says the author of the latter work, "that the declaration of freedom to the slave population in Hayti was the ruin of the country, and that it has not been attended with those benefits which the sanguine philanthropists of Europe anticipated. The inhabitants have neither advanced in moral improvement, nor are their civil rights more respected; their condition is not changed for the better. They are not slaves, it is true, but they are suffering under greater deprivations than can well be imagined, whilst slaves have nothing to apprehend, for they are clothed, fed, and receive every medical aid in time of sickness. The free labourer in Hayti, from innate indolence, and from his state of ignorance, obtains barely enough for his subsistence. He cares not for clothing, and, as to aid under sickness, he cannot obtain it; thus he is left to follow a course that sinks him to a level with the brute creation; and the reasoning faculties of the one are almost inferior to the instinct of the other."

The commerce of Hayti has sunk with its agriculture. It appears to be still unchecked in its downward career; and from the activity and permanence of the causes of its depression, the general decay of the country, the policy of the government, and the character of the people, there is little room to hope for an improvement.

The finances of the country appear to be in the worst possible state. In 1827, the state of the finances was represented as follows:—

Annual expenditure	$3,101,115
Interest on loan	450,000
Total expenditure	$3,551,115

This sum of three and a half millions of dollars, was to be provided for out of two millions and a half, the estimated revenue of 1825, or of one million and a half, the estimate for 1826. How the financial necromancy of Hayti effected the miracle, we are unable to explain.

The regular paid military of Hayti is about 30,000 men, in addition to the militia of the island. The object of maintaining this large force is, no doubt, to awe the people into submission to the despot who bears the republican title of "president." Hayti has no navy.

Such have been the consequences of abolition to Hayti. The mad fanatics of Paris forced the slaves into insurrection—and after scenes of inconceivable and diabolical atrocity—after hundreds of thousands of victims have perished—after a war of thirty-one years—what does she exhibit to the world? A despotic, military government; a people debased to the lowest depths of moral degradation, and forced

to labour at the point of the sword—a country desolate, and almost savage; its agriculture abandoned; its commerce annihilated—bowed down with debt, and yet without resources. Is there anything in the spectacle to encourage the wild hopes or mad designs of the abolitionist?

CHAPTER XXII.

We have referred, in a former chapter, to the consequences of abolition, even if the slave-holders sanctioned the scheme; and have shown that, with every obstacle and opposition removed, the emancipation of the southern slaves cannot be effected without the most desolating consequences. But we all know, that the opposition thus gratuitously evaded, will not be withdrawn, and cannot be avoided; and it becomes proper that we should consider the subject with that difficulty involved.

That the South is opposed to abolition, no one will deny. She is opposed to it from principle, feeling, and interest; and will not only maintain her institutions at every hazard, but regard as her enemies, all who openly or insidiously assail them.

It must not be supposed, that it can be assailed by the North, only through their authorities, by their legislatures, or by Congress. Against such opposition the South would interpose the shield of her sovereignty, and laugh the malice of her foes to scorn. The more dangerous, the more practicable mode of opposition, is the one chosen by the Abolitionists—*individual agitation.* For this, wealth alone is required; and that can be furnished to any amount by the Abolitionists themselves, or by their English allies and coadjutors. They do not need numbers, influence, or power; the press and the pulpit are engines of agitation, by which, without real respectability, they can effect incalculable mischief. They

can thus render the tranquillity, the very existence of the slave-holders insecure; they can excite strong and general prejudices at the North, and hot and angry resentments at the South. Can any man be ignorant of the inevitable consequences?

Mankind are strongly prone to blind themselves to approaching ills. We are seldom willing to cloud the enjoyment of the present, with fears for the future; and often would, like the Romans in their degeneracy, rather perish by our fire sides, and in the midst of our festivities, than meet the enemy at the borders, and defeat the threatened evil, before accumulated conquests render it irresistible. It was from this strange and slothful pusillanimity, that the Persian continued his riot when the Greek was within his borders; that the Parisians revelled when the allies were thundering at their gates; and that the Americans now affect a security they do not feel, and shrink from the realization of the perils that surround and menace them, from the distracting and treasonable activity of the Abolitionists. The miners are at work beneath the temple of union. We know it: we know what the consequences must be; yet they continue at their labours unmolested, *unchecked.* Let it not be said that they have been rebuked, put down by public opinion. Our cities have, it is true, been shaken by mobs, and the quiet of our people disturbed. *This is what the Abolitionists seek.* But are their steam-presses stopped? are their huge and various engines of agitation chained or checked? Is the mischief restrained? or are they, on the contrary, more active and more dangerous than before? If the people of the North wish them put down—if they would save the Union—let them, through their legislatures, denounce and punish the treason and the traitors.

The consequences of continued agitation are appa-

rent. It will produce, nay it has already produced, dangerous party excitement. It has given, to the political discussions of the country, an aspect of menace and asperity, which they never before assumed. In the North, it has excited riots and disorders in all the principal cities; and in the South kindled in the minds of the people the hottest indignation. The whole land is heaving with excitement. The laws have been suspended, and revolutionary remedies adopted in many sections of the country, both north and south. Blood has already flowed; and should the agitation be continued, the excitement thus kindled, will leap over every barrier, and overturn every obstacle in its progress.

Are the patriots of the North willing to witness these consequences? Are they willing to see the popular rage which, in the North, manifested itself in burning the houses of the negroes, and even destroying their lives, heightened to its utmost pitch? It need not be supposed, that the South will find no champions in the North. The earthquake, when it does burst, will prove nearly as desolating here as in the slave-holding states. The lower classes of our people would be found prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Union; and once excited, where will their indignation pause? Let the friends of the coloured man in the North think of this. Let the friends of peace and order ponder on it; for a war between the two races could not be confined to the South, and once commenced, would probably be prosecuted with all the horrible cruelty which marked the revolution in Hayti.

But must we think only of ourselves, in weighing the consequences of emancipation? Shall we bestow no thought on our brethren and sisters of the South? Must the most horrible species of warfare desolate that portion of our common country? Must the brave

and the fair, the helpless and the innocent, our own kindred too, be offered up to glut the lust and revenge of the brutal negro—and we be indifferent spectators of the scene? The consequences of agitation at the South are not merely the rage of the slave-holder—not merely the terror and wretchedness of the shrinking females thus exposed to the most awful perils—but inevitable insurrection. It is impossible that the South can be inundated with incendiary publications, and preserve her tranquillity. Already one extensive scheme of insurrection, thus fomented, has been discovered and prostrated. It is not in reason to suppose, that the same exertions, continued and extended, will not produce, still further, the same results. There is but one remedy—and that remedy, if forced to it, the South will assuredly adopt.

It is impossible that this Union can survive the period when it has ceased to be an advantage to those embraced in it. When the South is constrained to regard her northern sisters with distrust and terror, no earthly power can long prevent her from sundering the bond which unites us. The Union must be a fraternal and kindly one; and when perverted into a source of animosity and danger, it will lose its power. If the South were a separate nation, she could not only guard her territory from the machinations of the abolitionists, but she could demand those who endangered her peace for punishment. If then our federal conjunction is made the engine of an agitation which endangers the life of every man, woman, and child, in the slave-holding states; if her worst foes stand behind the pillars of the Union to stab the South to the heart; if, in short, it becomes the source of the most awful perils and evils to the people of that section of our country—can we doubt the eventual result? The people of the South are

men, with the ordinary passions of the race—and dare we calculate on a forbearance which we know that we never would, never could, exercise under like circumstances—a forbearance which would be not merely weak but unwise?

It would be vain and criminal, on such a subject, to deceive ourselves or others. Of abolition, or even of a continued and extensive attempt to effect it, the necessary and inevitable consequence *must be a dissolution of the Union.* The people of the South are protected from northern interference by strict constitutional, as well as national, right. As lovers of freedom, they would resist to the uttermost, and with propriety, any effort, made even for laudable purposes, to stretch the hand of northern interference over the prostrate barriers of the constitution, and modify the domestic institutions of the different states. But when this interference has for its avowed object measures so destructive and abhorrent—when it would overthrow the organization of society, and render the social system a convulsed, jarring, dark, and bloody chaos—it would be madness to calculate on their quiescence. Their determination to separate from the Union, if the Union continues to be a source of imminent and deadly peril to them, has not been left to remote innuendo or misty menace. It has been avowed, at all times and places, and in the most solemn and emphatic manner, by the people of the South. *By the people of the South,* we say; for on this subject there are no parties. Every southron heart cherishes the same stern and inflexible resolution to brook, from no power under heaven, an interference that gives the throats of his children to the knife, and offers up his taintless and cherished ones to the lust of the negro. The South, on this point, is as *one man*—its attitude is one of self-defence—its voice one of warning. If the wrong

be continued, it will act, *it must act*, not in revenge, not in anger, but in the performance of a holy duty —in defending its firesides from murder—its valleys from desolation. That the South *will not* submit, is now beyond all question—that it *ought not*, we ask no further proof than the unbid promptings of every correct bosom. Would we, under like circumstances, see a foreign and unconstitutional interference wrench away the restraints which check the brutality of our slaves; offer up our sons to their ferocity, our daughters to their lust—and see our streams crimsoned with the hue of murder, and our valleys startled with the shriek of violation? The question is answered by the thrill of horror which must shake every bosom at the bare thought of a consummation so fearful and revolting. The subject is then narrowed to this point—which is to be preferred, the preservation of the Union—a union necessary to our national independence and national glory—a union cemented by the blood, and hallowed by the glory of our fathers—or the prosecution of an unauthorized, chimerical, and most perilous scheme of interference with the domestic concerns of our sister states?

It is a source of pain and humiliation to the patriot, that any circumstances should render it necessary or proper to calculate the advantages of the Union, or the consequences of its dissolution and downfall. The time, however, has arrived, when such an examination is necessary—when the attention of the people of our country should be directed to the unbounded, the incalculable, blessings derived from our happy union, and the equally illimitable calamities which must flow from its destruction.

In the confederacy the non-slave-holding states have the preponderancy of power. They are therefore in the national councils the legislators of the

Union. If there be a perversion of power—if there be oppression, mal-government, and consequent discontent and division—it must come from them.

The same states have, in every other particular, such advantages as will always protect them from wrong. They can, by their votes and power, shield themselves from danger or injury. If they are wronged, they are able legally to right themselves. They will never, in any civil contest, be the *injured party*, while they continue, as they ever must, to possess a preponderancy in the Union. Disunion will never take place unless occasioned by oppression. The South cannot oppress the North, because it is the feebler brother. If the Union be divided, it will be sundered by the wrongs of the powerful done to the weak, either through the national councils, or by the acts of individual citizens of the stronger states.

It will be well, therefore, to consider the consequences of disunion to the northern states.

If the union of these states should be severed, they can never be re-united. They will become at once rivals and foes. When jealousy or aversion divides those knit together by the nearest and holiest ties—that division is eternal. No time, no change can modify the hatred that springs from it. Family quarrels, with nations as well as individuals, are the bitterest; and all history proves that neighbouring communities, identical in origin and language, but clashing in feelings and interest, cherish an animosity, which no lapse of time, or alteration of circumstances, can extinguish or allay. Should the North and South be divided, the prejudice, which even identity of interests and government has not suppressed, would burst forth with inextinguishable force and intensity.

Such a separation would be immediately follow-

ed by a cessation of all intercourse. The protection of the South, from the incendiary efforts of the abolitionists, would require the adoption of this policy; and mutual animosity would confirm and perpetuate it. Treaties would be made with foreign nations. The carrying trade of the South would be done by the British, and British manufactures would be admitted, to the exclusion of those of the North.

The consequences would be most ruinous to the non slave-holding states. The prosperity of the country depends upon its commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. Without exports, our commerce could not be maintained. If we had nothing to sell, we would not have the means of buying; if we had no exports, we could have no imports; and without either, where would be our commerce? Where the employment for our shipping? Where the means of subsistence to the *millions*, who indirectly depend upon it? The annual exports of this country amount to one hundred millions of dollars. These exports bring us an equal amount of imports. Commerce is thus created; industry, in its thousand different branches, employed; the revenue of our country paid; and the wants of our thirteen millions of people abundantly supplied. Under this happy state of things, our country has prospered, beyond the most sanguine hopes of the patriot. We have become vigorous and opulent. Our towns have become great cities; our forests have given place to towns; and the vast wilderness, left by our fathers, is smiling with a happy and abundant population. These results have been produced by the South. *The slave-holding states furnish nine-tenths of the whole exports of the country*, in cotton, tobacco, rice, grain, &c. This produce is the great fountain of our country's prosperity. It

is received by the merchants of the North, and shipped to Europe; its value in imports is returned, and flows, in a thousand channels, back upon the people. The South gives employment to our merchants, our manufacturers, our sailors, our storekeepers, and tradesmen. Let the South be cut off, and what will be the consequences to the North? We will answer in the language of an able writer on this subject—the editor of the Courier and Enquirer, of New York. "*Our exports and our imports would be reduced* NINE-TENTHS; NINE-TENTHS *of our shipping would be rotting at our wharves;* NINE-TENTHS *of our population now supported by commerce and the wealth it produces and the industry it diffuses, would be driven to agricultural pursuits; the staple articles of Northern Agriculture command but small prices abroad, and they would find but few customers at home; grass would grow in the streets of our cities and villages, and a general scene of poverty and desolation would follow our present unexampled prosperity and generally diffused wealth.*"

In case of separation, the South might raise up a commerce, might create and foster manufactures—for which her slave-labour is so well adapted; or if she failed in this, might, with profit, throw both into the lap of England, and find her sources of prosperity undiminished. But the North would be unable to supply the loss of the South. How would she find employment for her ships, her artizans, her labourers? How could she maintain her business activity, how pay her debts? She could not raise cotton or tobacco, and without the resources of the South, would shrink into poverty. Her great cities would be added to Tyre, Venice, and other desolate monuments of the fluctuations

of trade; and her impoverished people would imprecate the madness of those who sundered the holy tie that knit them to the South.

But is pecuniary ruin the only, or the worst consequence of disunion? How is it possible to tear asunder the limbs of this confederacy, without convulsion and bloodshed? Or, if it be possible, how long could a good understanding be maintained between people so peculiarly situated, and with so many causes of difficulty? We cannot pourtray the thousand evils, which must flow from the fratricidal blow that dissevers the Union. It is enough to know, that misery and shame must follow it; that poverty and want would stalk abroad, and violence and crime dog their footsteps; and that civil war, to fill the measure of our country's wretchedness, would run riot, its tiger tooth dripping with the best blood of our land.

"The picture of the consequences of disunion," said the illustrious Madison, "cannot be too highly coloured, or too often exhibited. Every man who loves peace, every man who loves his country, every man who loves liberty, ought to have it ever before his eyes, that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the *Union of America, and be able to set a due value on the means of preserving it.*"

It is painful to know, that there are men, who regard the prospect of disunion, without emotion, and who are determined to urge their insane projects, indifferent what barriers are broken down, what altars overthrown, what sacrifices made. To them the recollection of our common war of independence, where the North stood breast to breast with the South, when they poured out their blood, like water, beneath the same proud flag, and in the same holy cause—appeals in vain. The glory of the

past, the hopes of the future, are nothing to them. They are willing to see the land of Washington—the glory and pride of the earth—shattered, overthrown and trampled in the dust—her past glories blotted out—her future hopes forever blasted. To such men nothing is sacred. They will follow their phantom—rending asunder the holiest ties, and bringing shame and ruin upon all that should be dear to them.

Yet they ask credit for their motives! A word on this point. It is generally unsafe to judge men's motives by any other test than their actions. If a man places a torch to a magazine, the explosion of which must destroy a city, and tells you, when his arm is arrested, that his motives are good—you would decide, that the man was either a dangerous madman, who should be chained, or a guilty miscreant, who would perpetrate the worst crimes under the holiest pretences. Men never avow evil motives. The vilest felon has recourse to this paltry defence; and the act which cannot borrow so poor a gloss, so thin and common a veil, must be base and black indeed. Hell itself, the proverb tells us, is paved with good intentions. Until we find some more satisfactory explanation of the course of the abolitionists, we cannot see them busy in their work of agitation—

> "While at their feet,
> Leashed in like hounds, famine, and sword, and fire,
> Crouch for employment,"—

we cannot see them coolly promoting the horrors of civil discord, and hold them guiltless on the score of pure intentions. Were there room for error, they might plead the soundness of their motives. But how can they be deceived? They have already sown the wind and reaped the whirl-

wind. Riots and violence in the North, popular indignation and servile insurrection at the South—are the first and only fruits of their efforts. Can they point us to any good they have accomplished, or can reasonably hope to accomplish? They cannot. They shut their eyes to the manifold and fearful consequences of their madness, exclaim, "we are doing our duty," and rush on in their headlong career. And they will continue to rush on until arrested by legislative interference; until they dash themselves to pieces against the rock of our Union; or until they have toppled that Union into the dust, and filled this happy country with the din, and guilt, and terrors of fratricidal and fraternal warfare.

CHAPTER XXIII.

British Agency in urging Abolition—Motives, &c.—Religious interference—Extent—Nature, consequences of clerical influence in the agitation of this question.

If the scheme of emancipation were entitled to our approbation and support, the manner in which it is urged, would be sufficient to excite just and general suspicion and alarm. A political cause that comes before the people, sustained on the one side by English influence, and on the other by an aspiring priesthood—may well be regarded, by republicans, with distrust and terror.

It is not difficult to divine the motives which induce Great Britain to encourage the incendiary efforts of the abolitionists. They are the same, which heretofore, at different periods, in our history, prompted the same nation to endeavour to distract and destroy our Union, and excite the slaves of the South against their masters. Like their own wreckers, they are anxious to decoy our vessel upon the rocks, that they may be enriched by the spoil of the wreck. Our ruined commerce and manufactures, would afford Great Britain a new and boundless source of affluence; while the destruction of a former foe and a present rival, would be regarded with feelings of malicious satisfaction. Many of her people also regard the example of republicanism

in this country, as dangerous to the existing institutions of Europe, and would rejoice to see the fabric of our Union torn to pieces, and our land bleeding and groaning beneath the parricidal arms of her own infuriated children.

Such, we have every reason to believe, are the motives that have induced England to send her emissaries into this country, to aid the incendiary schemes of the emancipationists, to volunteer and contribute pecuniary support, in forwarding the same cause; and in short, to exercise every means in her power, to excite division and insurrection, and consummate the infamy of our people, and the downfall of our country. It is true, that she avows only motives of philanthropy. But why is that philanthropy directed hither? Why does it not turn to their brethren, the oppressed and starving people of Ireland, whose condition is so much worse than that of our slaves? Why does it overlook the perishing thousands, in the manufactories in England? Why is it not turned to the almost countless millions of slaves who groan beneath English tyrrany in India? Or, if their own brethren, or their own victims are beneath their notice, why have not the oppressed of their neighbouring kingdoms of Europe—the serfs of Russia and Poland, the slaves of Turkey, and the down-trodden of other lands—claimed their attention? England has not, hitherto, exhibited such peculiar interest in our welfare; and this sudden and singular anxiety cannot, under the circumstances, but excite suspicion and terror. It remains to be seen, whether British money will be allowed openly to circulate, in maintaining an opposition to our Union and our Constitution; and whether English emissaries will be permitted to go from state to state, preaching treason against those sacred rights, which were wrested

from English tyranny, and established at the price of hundreds of thousands of American lives.

We have, heretofore, referred to the artful attempts of the abolitionists, to make emancipation a theological question. In this they have succeeded. The question of the abolition of slavery, one altogether political in its nature and bearings, has been taken up by a body of clergymen, and is discussed and urged by them, through the pulpit and the press, as a religious topic. Their conventions have been, for the most part, constituted of clergymen. The officers of their societies, their agents, emissaries, and editors are also, generally ministers of the gospel. In short, the movement originates in, and is sustained and urged by, clerical influence. Many of the religious papers of the North have espoused the cause; theological institutions have been perverted to the same end, and a large portion of the influence of the northern clergy is actively engaged in the agitation of this distracting *political topic.*

Every intelligent citizen is aware of the powerful nature of the engine thus employed. When the numbers of the northern clergy, or of those engaged in preaching abolition, are computed; when their moral influence, their resources, their union, their perseverance, and experience in the control of the human heart, are contemplated—it will be admitted, that such a cause, so urged, may well be a subject of apprehension.

The abolition clergy do not merely denounce slavery as a sin, and advocate its abolition as a Christian duty—but refuse all fellowship with those who hold slaves, or sanction domestic slavery. Not only all the laity, but all the clergy of the South, and a large portion of those of the North—are thus denounced; the tie of fellowship is sundered; and

they are held by the abolitionists, as man-stealers and murderers. The following extract is from "a picture of slavery"—a work sold at the office of the Anti-Slavery Society.

"*Every slave-holder peremptorily and without delay, must be excommunicated from the Church of God.*"

"It is of no importance, what title, what office, what station, or what rank, the slave-holder may hold, *or what apparent virtues*, or talents he may possess and develop. To all these specious pleas, and to all this anti-christian whitewashing, there is a concise, significant, and irrefutable reply:—He is a man-stealer. But as a man-stealer is the very highest criminal in the judgment of God, and of all rational, uncorrupted men, he cannot be a Christian; and therefore it is an insult to the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, to record the most notorious criminal as an acceptable member of the 'household of faith.' * * * There must be a beginning, and to the Christians of New England especially, to the descendants of the puritan pilgrims, is reserved the honour of commencing upon a large arena, and of effectually carrying on the warfare which shall expel man-stealing from all connection with American Churches. However plausible may be the pretexts, and however ingenious and urgent may be the excuses, they must categorically denounce the profession of Christianity in alliance with slave-holding, as *pestiferous hypocrisy*. They must sternly prohibit all slave-driving preachers from officiating in the sanctuary, or leading in any devotional exercises."

"Thus the Northern and Eastern Christians must unsparingly act. They must eject every man-stealer, without exception, from 'the communion of Saints,' instantly and forever."

We cannot pause to estimate the power of this combination of the priesthood, or the dangers which are to be apprehended to the liberties of the country, from their systematic agitation of political questions. Every one who has opened the pages which record the history of the past, must know the consequences which have ever flowed from the political policy of the priesthood. He must know that the most sanguinary and dreadful of those innumerable wars, which have, in different ages desolated the earth, have been kindled by the breath of fanaticism; and that even the religion of peace, has been perverted, by the ambition or bigotry of priests, into the cause of the slaughter of millions. Religious interference has, in all cases, been attended with violence; religious domination, in all cases, followed by political despotism, popular degradation, and national decay. So effective an agent is fanaticism, in the agitation or control of the popular mind, that the mask of religious fervour has been frequently worn to cover the dark and blood-spotted brow of guilty ambition, of deep and insatiate love of power. It would have been strange, had the abolitionists overlooked such an engine—such a mask. It is a weapon peculiarly appropriate for their cause. It accords admirably with the sleek dissimulation, the canting affectation of superior excellence, and the reckless disregard of the lives and happiness of others, which characterize that faction. The subject of abolition is, therefore, argued wholly on religious grounds. The Constitution is arrayed against the Bible; and the South is denounced as a moral "Sodom." Whatever subject may be discussed, their arguments are still directed to the fanatical; even declamation assumes the whining tone of cant; and all their efforts betray the same determination to urge abolition, not

as a grand political question, to be argued on political grounds, but as a theological point, to be discussed with nasal intonation and hypocritical slang, and to be decided by a faction of presumptuous priests, and the old women, male and female, whose political opinions and feelings are in their holy keeping.

This fanaticism is equally dangerous, whether affected or sincere, but not equally revolting. That it is, with the leaders at least, counterfeit, is demonstrated by the fact that, among the most vociferous of the preachers of abolition, are men, whose lives constitute but a halting commentary on their doctrines. How heartless must be the impiety of the man, who can use the gospel of peace to forward a plot that must move, if at all, *axle deep in blood!*

"No sound," says the immortal Burke, "should be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are for the most part ignorant of the character they assume, and of the character they leave off. *Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the* PASSIONS *they excite.* Surely the church is a place, where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

The men who renounce all Christian fellowship with one half of the members of the American Church, for maintaining, as Christ himself did, the existing institutions of the country, can scarcely expect that their course of treason, incendiarism and violence, will be regarded in a more charitable spirit. But we are willing, even by a violation of probability, to suppose that, at least some of these bigots have really at heart the advancement of the

cause of religion; and will ask them, if they can deceive themselves into a belief that the course which they have adopted, is calculated to promote that cause. Do they not know that it must divide the Christian church into two bodies, those approving, and those opposing, the legal institutions of the South; that these parties must regard each other with feelings of no Christian character; and that the house, thus divided against itself, is in danger of falling? Are they not aware, that by thus interfering with the politics of the country, they not only expose themselves to dangerous political errors from their ignorance and inexperience, but that they are exciting against themselves and against the clergy in general, a wide-spread and popular feeling of distrust, suspicion, prejudice, and aversion? Do they not know that they, by their present course, assume the awful responsibility of endangering the cause of religion itself; of exciting even against its holy and beneficent influence, that prejudice which is and must be attached to an intermeddling, ambitious, and selfish priesthood, whatever political course they may pursue; and which, when that course endangers the rights of the people, and the honour and union of the country, cannot but be intense and general? How can they answer these questions to themselves? How can they answer them to the great Master, whose holy name they have thus abused—whose holy cause they have thus betrayed and injured? The prudent, the pious will shrink and tremble, before they incur a responsibility so fearful. They will hesitate before they throw by the shepherd's crook, to grasp the weapon which must be reddened in the blood of our brethren; and ponder deeply and solemnly, before they sanction those who thus dangerously pervert the religion of Him who came into the world "not to destroy, but to fulfil."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Ability of the South to hold its Slaves—Increase of Slaves—Slaves contented—Impossibility of successful insurrection—Security of the South, &c. &c.

In extenuation of their lawless encroachments on the rights of the South, the abolitionists plead the great dangers which must arise from the existence of slavery. This danger, if it exists at all, menaces only the inhabitants of the South. Now they are neither destitute of mental nor physical resources to foresee or meet the alleged danger. They are fully capable of the task of caring for themselves; and the thankless interference of the abolitionists is equally ill-timed, pragmatical, and unnecessary. The South wants no protection, and, least of all, the protection of the abolitionists. *Their* charity is altogether obtrusive; and it would be well if, in their discursive and knight-errant benevolence, they would seek other subjects for the exercise of their virtues.

These raven counsellors calculate the increase of the slaves, and come to the conclusion that they are gaining gradually upon the whites; that their power will be thus regularly increased, until at length, in future times, they may outnumber the whites, and fall upon and massacre them. They, therefore, appear to think that it is more prudent that the slaves should be excited to this massacre at once; that the "question should be met," and that the throats des-

tined to be cut should be operated upon without any unnecessary delay.

These views are, at least, in character with the abolitionists. But we would suggest to them the propriety of allowing posterity to take care of itself. We have quite as much on our hands as we can manage properly; and as posterity will be, in all probability, quite as wise and capable as we are, it may be well to direct our time and attention to the care of those more immediately within the scope of our sympathies and duty.

Cool-headed and reflecting men cannot but regard the ill-omened predictions of the abolitionists, on this head, with scorn. Slavery has existed thus far without any of the unfavourable results which terrify these nervous patriots. Every age has had its croakers, men who see visions, and dream dreams; who foresee for futurity evils and calamities which futurity never realizes, and which only serve to excite the imaginations of those who can be terrified by the phantoms thus idly conjured up. We have no right to expect an exemption from these prophets of evil. Their raven voices will be heard even under the brightest sky; and, though time may venture to belie their predictions, nothing will quiet their croaking. It may be well, however, to examine the basis of their apprehensions.

In answer to the oft-repeated objection, that the increase of the slaves of this country is proportionally greater than that of the whites, we venture to oppose a direct denial of the statement. The following extract from Mr. Walsh will correct all errors on this point. "Our census of 1810 teaches that, according to the ratio of increase for the twenty years preceding, the number of years required for the duplication of the whites was 22.48; and that required for the slaves, as I have mentioned, 25.99.

The whites increased from 1790 to 1810, 85.26 per cent; the slaves 70.75. The mere natural increase is not, however, shown exactly by this calculation. We should deduct the annual addition made to the numbers of both from without, which would probably leave the proportion the same. The whole number of slaves in 1810 was 1,191,364; and of free people of colour, 186,466. Together they did not equal one fourth of the white population, which was 5,862,092; nor make but little more than one sixth of the whole. At present, (1819,) the proportion must be still less, as the ratio of increase for the white population is undoubtedly greater." The views of Mr. Walsh have been confirmed by subsequent experience; and the fears of those who dwell, with trembling emphasis, upon the increase of the slaves, demonstrated to be groundless and idle.*

* "We have no fears on this score; even if it were true, the danger would not be very great. With the increase of the blacks, we can afford to enlarge the police; and we will venture to say, that with the hundredth man at our disposal, and faithful to us, we would keep down insurrection in any large country on the face of the globe. But the speakers in the Virginia legislature, in our humble opinion, made most unwarrantable inferences from the census returns. They took a period between 1790 and 1830, and judged exclusively from the aggregate results of that whole time. Mr. Brown pointed out their fallacy, and showed that there was but a small portion of the period in which the blacks had rapidly gained on the whites (in Virginia,) but during the residue they were most rapidly losing their high relative increase, and would, perhaps in 1840, exhibit an augmentation less than the whites. But let us go a little back. In 1740, the slaves in South Carolina, says Marshall, were three times the whites: the danger from them was greater then than it ever has been since, or ever will be again. There was an insurrection in that year, which was put down with the utmost ease, although instigated and aided by the Spaniards. The slaves in Virginia, at the same period, were much more numerous than the whites. Now suppose some of those *peepers* into futu-

The progressive increase of the two races has been referred to as a source of danger. If the whites increase, the blacks also multiply, and will in time, it is urged, constitute so large a mass, that it will be impossible to hold them in subjection. The facts do not bear out the theory. A million can more easily hold a million in subjection, than a thousand can a thousand. The reason is obvious—concert and union are required to overturn an established government; and the greater the number, the more difficult is this of attainment. In a community of one hundred, a police of one man would be wholly incapable of controlling the ninety-nine; but in a community of one million, a band of ten thousand troops would be found amply sufficient for that purpose.

No one, who has examined this subject dispassionately, can entertain any serious doubts of the ability of the whites of the South to hold their slaves in subjection. There has been no instance of a successful insurrection of negro slaves. Even at St. Domingo, the revolt commenced with the free mulattoes, who had been educated and disciplined in France; who were nearly equal in number to the whites; and who were encouraged by the French government; and, notwithstanding all this, it would

rity could have been present; would they not have predicted the speedy arrival of the time when the blacks, running ahead of the whites in numbers, would have destroyed their security? In 1763, the black population of Virginia was 100,000, and the white 70,000. In South Carolina the blacks were 90,000, and the whites 40,000. Comparing them with the returns of 1740, our prophets, could they have lived so long, might have found some consolation in the greater increase of the whites. Again, when we see in 1830, that the blacks in both states have fallen in numbers below the whites, our prophets, were they alive, might truly be pronounced false."—*Professor Dew.*

never have succeeded had not the island been in a state of revolution, and distracted by a civil contest. In Jamaica, where the blacks are eight-fold the whites, and in Brazil, where they are three to one, they have been controlled and held in bondage without difficulty. In this country, the slave population, inferior in numbers and milder in temper, has never given any trouble; and never will, unless poisoned and maddened by foreign abolitionists.

The security of the whites may be ascribed to several causes. Among the first, is the moral superiority of the master over the slave. This superiority consists in a greater natural elevation of character, in the feelings which arise from a habit of command, and in the firmness and courage which are produced by freedom. The slave, besotted, servile, accustomed to degradation, and habituated to regard his master with deference and awe, does not presume to dream of contending with him. His genius stands rebuked before that of the white man. He has neither the aspirations, the spirit, nor the ability, which would urge him into determined opposition to his master. A late writer, the author of "The South-West, by a Yankee," alleges, that the South has little to apprehend from her slave population; and asserts that "the negro is wholly destitute of courage. He possesses an animal instinct, which impels him, when roused, to the performance of the most savage acts. He is a being of impulse, and cowardice is a principle of his soul, as instinctive as courage in the white man. This may be caused by their condition, and without doubt it is. But, whatever may be the cause, the effect exists, and will ever preclude any apprehensions of serious evil from any insurrectionary combination of their number. The spirit of insubordination will die as soon as the momentary excitement which produced it has

subsided; and negroes never can accomplish any thing of a tragic nature, unless under the influence of extraordinary temporary excitement. The negro has a habitual fear of the white man, which has become a second nature; and this, combined with the fearless contempt of the white man for him, in his belligerent attitude, will operate to prevent any very serious evil resulting from their plans. A northerner looks upon a band of negroes, as upon so many *men*; but the planter, or southerner, views them in a very different light; and, armed only with a hunting whip or walking cane, he will fearlessly throw himself among a score of them, armed as they may be, and they will instantly flee with terror." This superiority of the white man, and the deference and dependence of the slaves, preclude even the disposition to insurrection. It renders the domination of the master sovereign and complete, and prevents the first movements of rebellion; or enables him to crush it without difficulty at any subsequent stage.

But it is not merely the superiority of the master in his towering, fearless, and commanding spirit, which oversways the negro; the intelligence and skill of the whites render that superiority still greater. The white man has all the advantages of science; he possesses, in superior intelligence, the means not only of protecting himself, but of controlling his slaves. The negro regards him not only as his protector, and the provider of his daily bread, but as the possessor of the mysterious and awful power conferred by education. He regards his superiority with deference, and well he may; for the ignorance and simplicity of the negro, opposed to the sagacity and intelligence of the white man, would have but little chance of success. Should the negroes, by accident, attain a partial advantage and be enabled to oppose the whites, their

ignorance, want of discipline, and confidence would make them an easy prey to the discipline and skill of their masters.

The blacks from their position can never effect organization. The police of the South effectually prevents it; and even should that police be relaxed, or withdrawn, the ignorance and stupidity of the blacks would preclude the possibility of extensive and effective combination. Even in case of successful insurrection, the ignorant and savage mob collected together, could never be formed into a regular or united mass. The whites, on the contrary, have all the advantages afforded by an effective *code noir*, carefully administered, of vigorous organization by government, and of every thing necessary to secure prompt and irresistible combination and exertion of the organized energies of the white population.

The blacks, it must also be remembered, would be, in case of insurrection, without any of the resources necessary for effectual resistance. Destitute of arms and ammunition, probably without food, and certainly without discipline—they might desolate a hamlet, but could never endanger a state.

It is impossible to contemplate the character, condition, and resources of the two races in the South, and believe that any serious difficulty *can* arise from the slaves. The superiority of the whites in all that constitutes power, the effective police adopted, and the character and position of the slaves, render it morally impossible, that the safety and tranquillity of the South can be disturbed by negro insurrection.

But were the resources of the blacks adequate to successful insurrection, they would not, unless tainted by the incendiaries, desire a change in their condition; they could not be persuaded to raise

their hands against their masters. The following remarks of Mr. Dew, on this subject, deserve attention. "It seems to us that those who insist upon it, commit the enormous error of looking upon every slave in the slave-holding country, as actuated by the most deadly enmity to the whites, and possessing all that reckless, fiendish temper, which would lead him to murder, and assassinate, the moment the opportunity occurs. This is far from being true. The slave, as we have already said, generally loves the master and his family: aye, and few indeed there are, who can coldly plot the murder of men, women, and children; and if they do, there are fewer still who can have the villany to execute. We can sit down and imagine, that all the negroes in the South have conspired to rise on a certain night, and murder all the whites in their respective families; we may suppose the secret to be kept, and that they have the physical power to exterminate; and yet, we say, the whole is morally impossible. No insurrection of this kind, has occurred where the blacks are as much civilized as they are in the United States. Savages and Koromantyn slaves can commit such deeds, because their whole life and education have prepared them; and they glory in the achievment; but the negro of the United States has imbibed the principles, the sentiments, and the feelings of the white; in one word, he is civilized—at least, comparatively; his whole education, and course of life, are at war with such fell deeds. Nothing, then, but the most subtle and poisonous principles, sedulously infused into his mind, can break his allegiance, and transform him into the midnight murderer. Any man who will attend to the history of the Southampton massacre, must at once see, that the cause of even the partial success of the insurrectionists, was the very circumstance that

there was no extensive plot, and that Nat, a demented fanatic, was under the impression that heaven had enjoined him to liberate the blacks, and had made its manifestations by loud noises in the air, an eclipse, and by the greenness of the sun. It was these signs which determined *him*, and ignorance and superstition, together with implicit confidence in Nat, determined a few others; and thus the bloody work began. So fearfully and reluctantly did they proceed to the execution, that we have no doubt that if Travis, the first attacked, could have waked whilst they were getting into his house, or could have shot down Nat or Will, the rest would have fled, and the affair would have terminated *in limine.*"*

* So far are the negroes from cherishing any desire to effect their freedom by force, that the virtuous among them regard it as disgraceful to run away. The following anecdotes from "The South-West, by a Yankee," illustrate this feeling.

"I was sitting, not long since, in the portico of a house in the country, engaged in conversation, when an old negro entered the front gate, leading by the arm a negro boy, about sixteen years of age. "Ah!" said the gentleman with whom I was talking, "There is my runaway!" The old man approached the steps, which led to the portico, and removing his hat, as usual with slaves on addressing a white person, said, "Master, I done bring John home. I cotch him skulkin' 'bout in Natchey; I wish master sell him, where ol' nigger nebber see him more, if he run away 'gain; he disgrace he family: his ol' mammy cry 'nough 'bout it when she hearn it." This couple were father and son. A "good negro" in the usual acceptation of the term, feels that there is a kind of disgrace attached to himself and family, if any one of them becomes a runaway. A negro lad, who had absconded for a few days' play, was apprehended, and led by his overseer, through the streets on his way home, not long ago, when an old negro washwoman standing by, exclaimed, seeing him, "La, me! who tink he 'gin so young to act bad." I will relate an instance of their readiness to ar-

The following extract from the speech of Dr. Burden, speaker of the Pennsylvania Senate, in the debate on the Tariff, in January, 1833, gives the same view of the slave population of the South.

"The feelings of the Southern slave towards his master are but little understood in the North. Born and brought up in a family, he has no affections beyond it. He eats his master's food and is his master's friend; in sickness or decrepitude he is sustained and comforted; and when his days are drawing to a close, he finds in his master a friend and protector, without resorting to the *tender mercies of an alms-house.* Slavery is abhorrent to us all; yet in the fearful event of a civil war, *the slave of South Carolina would be trusted with arms, and found, as on a former occasion, by the side of his master.*"

It is true, that the people of the North are unable to conceive the feeling which subsists between the master and the slave, the protector and the protected. The negro is a child in his nature, and the white man is to him as a father. The slave, it is true, regards him with awe, but that awe is mingled with affection. He shares in his master's pride, partakes in his prosperity, and feels, with sensibility, his reverses, his sufferings, or his death. The work already quoted gives the following account of a slave-holder's funeral.

rest each other. "Missus, deres a runaway back de garden," said hastily a young negress, as a party were sitting down to the tea table of a lady at whose house I was visiting. "Let me go catch him." "Let me go missus," said the waiters, and they could hardly be kept in the hall. Permission was given to one to go, who in a few minutes returned, leading up to the hall-door, a stout half-naked negro, whom he had caught prowling about the premises. "Here de nigger, missus," said he exultingly, as though he himself belonged to another race and colour."

"An irregular procession, or rather crowd of slaves in the rear of all, followed, with sorrowful countenances, the remains of their master, to his last, long home. When the heavy clods rattled upon the hollow sounding coffin, these poor wretches, who had anxiously crowded around the grave, burst into one simultaneous flood of tears, mingled with expressions of regret, sorrow, and affection. A group of slaves lamenting over the grave of their master!" The author of the work quoted says, "I am myself in favour of emancipation;" the fidelity of the statement cannot therefore be doubted. Can any one possessed of reason, suppose that the masters, thus beloved while living, and regretted when dead, by their slaves, are in danger from those slaves? If the slaves had all the power, they have not the disposition, to unsheath the knife against the breasts of their masters. That disposition is cherished only in the bosoms of the religious philanthropists of the North!

But, it will be asked, what will become of the South, should the abolitionists succeed in poisoning the minds of the slaves against their masters, and should the efforts of the negroes against the whites be aided by foreign powers? If such events were possible, the results would be what we have, in a former chapter described; but such a state of things *is not possible.* It is not possible, that the South will be so inert, so tame, so insensible to the dangers of her situation, as to allow the abolitionists of the North to tamper with her slaves. She WILL prevent it, at whatever sacrifice; and those who think otherwise deceive themselves. The slaves will remain what they now are; and should the South be assailed by a foreign power, her slaves will be her safety, her defence. As a labouring population, they would furnish the supplies necessary for such a

contest; as a portion of the wealth of the land they, would constitute "the sinews of war"—or should men be wanted, they would fight by the side of their masters. But all these speculations are idle and ill-omened. What nation on the face of the earth, bearing a Christian name, and ranking among civilized communities, would thus assail the South? What nation would thus violate every law by which the civilized world is ruled, outrage every feeling of humanity, and seek to bring upon both races at the South, wanton and sanguinary destruction, without interest, or motive? Would the states of the North adopt so inhuman and savage a policy? Would the nations of Europe? The supposition is gratuitous and far beyond the limit of possibility.

It would be a singular instance of national weakness and folly, if the predictions of the abolitionists should succeed in frightening the people of this country, into a support of their views. Such appeals constitute one of the oldest and most effective arts of political quacks. Nations have been appalled by an eclipse; and empires shaken by an astronomical prediction. We are told that the solar system contains in itself the laws of its eventual destruction; that the planets are gradually drawn to the centre, and must at last shoot from their spheres to the sun, and make one massive central ruin of the system, which now moves in brightness and beauty around us. The dangers foretold by the abolitionists are of a similar character—equally terrible—and equally remote. He who can be shaken by such predictions is unfit to deliberate on the concerns of a rational people.

CHAPTER XXV.

Course of the South vindicated—Duty of Congress—Post Office—Duty of Northern States—Freedom of the Press—Conclusion.

We have shown, it is hoped satisfactorily, that the fears entertained of the safety of the South are groundless; that the slaves have neither the disposition nor the power to rise against their masters; and that, neither now nor hereafter, are they likely to become a source of danger, or well founded apprehension.

The only danger which is to be apprehended, is from the agitation of this subject by the people of the North. The abolitionists may *create* danger to the slave and the master, to the North and the South. We have already shown that the paucity of their numbers, were they few, or their want of power, were they weak, does not prevent them from being extensively mischievous. Hitherto, it is hoped, their efforts among the slaves have been attended with no extended consequences dangerous to the South; but their agitation has, in its effects upon the sentiments and temper of our people, produced results which cannot be mistaken. The South is alarmed and excited. Throughout the whole of the slave-holding sections of our country, there prevails a conviction of great danger arising from the agitating measures of the abolitionists, and a stern determination to avert that danger, at whatever sacrifice.

In many cases, the sense of undeserved injury has excited intense and violent feelings of resentment. Those feelings have been freely expressed. Can it excite surprise, or justify censure, that the people of the South, smarting under their wrongs, express in terms of indignation, the sentiments which every manly heart must cherish? Or is it expected that the southron will see his rights violated, and the lives and honour of his wife and daughters endangered, and feel no throb of resentment—or that, feeling it, he will express his sense of the wrong in terms of meek regret and honied endearment? The South is wronged—deeply and dangerously wronged: she will not submit to that wrong: and it would be hypocrisy as well as weakness, to suppress her feelings, or conceal her determination. She must defend herself, or perish. Those who trample upon her have no right to complain that her remonstrances are not made in the whining and craven tones of supplication. Her very *existence* is endangered; and when she says that she will not allow her domestic institutions to be insidiously assailed, or her slaves tampered with, *she means it.* Those, whose incendiary measures excite these feelings at the South, have but little reason to complain of the *fashion of her speech.*

It has been complained, also, that the citizens of the South have punished such incendiaries as have been detected in exciting the slaves to mutiny, in an extra judicial manner. It is true that, when miscreants have been found engaged in the fiend-like task of persuading the slaves to murder the whites, they have been tried before tribunals which, though constituted with great care, and composed of the best citizens, have not been directly authorised by law. But who dares say that such tribunals have, in a single instance, exercised the powers conferred upon them unjustly or improperly?

It is somewhat singular, that certain northern presses should have espoused, with such zeal, the cause of these blood-stained preachers of negro insurrection. It might be thought, that the fate of such wretches would have excited but little sympathy with the virtuous; and that the patriot would rather rejoice, than lament, that the knife which had been whetted for an indiscriminate slaughter of the whites of the South, had been directed, by the hand of justice, to the bosoms which gave birth to the bloody scheme.

The course of the people of Mississippi in the late insurrection was wise and just. The danger was of so imminent a character as to throw back the people upon the first law of nature, for their protection. The crisis was revolutionary, and the remedy adopted was necessarily above the law. Is it to be expected that, in such an emergency, the people will fold their arms and quietly wait for the knife of the negro, because the existing regulations do not furnish adequate means of defence? The idea is too absurd to be entertained for a moment. But the course pursued, in the case referred to, was not only fully justified by extreme and imperative necessity, but also was sanctioned by the highest authority known to the state—*the entire mass of the citizens.* The laws under which the incendiaries were apprehended and executed, and the insurrection suppressed, were dictated by supreme necessity, and were enacted by the people—not through the regular organs—no time was afforded for that—but by the people themselves, directly and unanimously. If they did wrong, they are responsible to themselves alone. We have nothing to do with it. It may be, and has been said, that the precedent is dangerous. We think otherwise. The people always have, and always will, under like dangers, adopt a like course.

When the emergency requires it, the precedent is safe; when it does not, the precedent does not apply.

In the crisis which has fallen upon our country, it becomes every patriot to enquire *what is to be done?* The danger is general; and the efforts to arrest the evil should be equally so.

Congress, in this emergency, should prove itself worthy to guard the rights of a free people. It should not only reject, with disdain, every petition which the abolitionists may presume to send to that body—it should not only avoid, as fatal, every act which may involve the agitation of the subject—but it should adopt stern and efficient measures to prevent any department of the general government from being made an incendiary engine in the hands of the fanatics. Such regulations should be at once adopted as will rescue the post office, from the abolitionists. The patriotic recommendation of the president in his late message will, it is hoped, meet the concurrence and support of all parties in Congress. We are aware that it objected that any corrective applied to the evil would subject the mail to the abuses of power. Power, however wholesome and necessary, is liable to abuse; and it would be folly to hesitate in removing a great and imminent danger, in the apprehension of incurring a slight and remote one. If, however, the general government should fail to make such provisions as are obviously required to check the influx of incendiary publications on the South through the medium of the post office, the southern states may, and no doubt will, in the exercise of their unquestioned rights, adopt efficient measures to check the evil. But even without further enactments, either by the general government or the states, the post officers, in the performance of their duties, should, and no doubt will, eject incendiary matter from their mails. That they are legally

justified in so doing, we entertain not a doubt; and, certain it is, that the intelligence and patriotism of the country have fully sustained the course heretofore adopted by the post office department.

The non-slaveholding states owe it to the Union, to the South, to themselves, and to the cause of peace and order, to adopt efficient measures to check the madness of the incendiaries. The offenders are citizens of the northern states; their dangerous publications are here prepared, and sent through the South; while they themselves, screened by our law, proceed in their work of treason in safety. It becomes the duty of the northern states, to pass such enactments as will effectually prevent their citizens from endangering the peace of the southern states, by exciting their slaves to insurrection.

Whenever such measures have been suggested, the abolitionists and their apologists have raised a clamour about the freedom of the press. This is one of those empty and unmeaning war cries, which are raised upon every occasion. Such a question should be decided, not by artful appeals to popular axioms, the emptiest of which reverb the loudest, but by cool and manly argument.

The liberty of the press is in no danger. Those who recommend effective measures against the abolitionists, are the most devoted friends of the true liberty of the press. The press may be regulated without being fettered. It is now restrained by wholesome laws; does any one feel or regret the loss of so much of its liberty? Not only the press, but every thing, and every body, are under certain restraints, in all civilized communities. Men cannot speak, write, nor act, in such manner as to endanger the moral well-being of society, without incurring the penalties of the violated law.

The liberty of the press may be abused; and

these abuses should be checked. The press that would advocate open immorality, that would espouse the cause of the enemy in a dangerous war, that would become the organ and signal of the thieves of our different cities, ought to be, and would be stopped. The press that endeavours to fill the South with insurrection and bloodshed, is equally dangerous; and should also be subjected, by the community in which it is issued, to the penalty of such laws as the evil requires.

The dangers which some affect to apprehend to the liberty of the press, are of the most insubstantial nature. How could such laws endanger the real, useful freedom of the press? Does the liberty of the country depend upon the success of the incendiaries in exciting servile sedition; or is the mad raving of the fanatics of such peculiar value, that its non-continuance will involve the downfall of the country? The Southern press is now, and long has been, under the restraints which are recommended here for the behoof of the abolitionists; yet we presume, that it will not be pretended that it is less free and fearless, less able and effective in political discussion, than that of the North. The same measures would be attended here with the same results.

It must not be supposed, that the South requires from the North more than is necessary for her tranquillity. The right of discussion, the invaluable privilege of talking of the concerns of others, may be retained in full force and virtue by the abolitionists; it is only required, that they should not flood the South with appeals calculated to endanger its tranquillity. Their own rights are not assailed; they are only asked to respect the rights of others.

Some of the Northern presses say, and say truly, that they have "a right to discuss what they please,

and as they please." It is not denied that, under existing enactments, it would be found difficult to bring them to punishment for exciting insurrection among the slaves. But if they have a right to act towards the South as foes, has it not occurred to them, that the South has a right to regard them in the same light, and to secede from a union with those who boast their right to be their worst enemies? The exercise of rights of so unfraternal a character, will scarcely advance the interests of any section of our country.

If the Northern states were not knit to the South by the bonds of one happy union, but were foreign and friendly powers, they would be *forced* by the law of nations to suppress the hostile movements of the incendiaries. Are they willing to make the union a defence and justification of wrong? Are they prepared to deny that to their brethren, which they could not withhold from strangers?

The North is pledged to observe the rights of the South. It is expected that she will avoid an infraction of those rights, not nominally and in appearance alone, but really and in fact. This cannot be said to be the case, when she allows her citizens to prosecute a continued and systematic warfare, and refuses to adopt the measures necessary to suppress them. While she thus virtually violates the common compact—how can she consider it binding on others? How can she expect the South to remain quiescent under acts of systematic hostility? It is of no consequence that the blow which is aimed at the South, is to be inflicted by the arm of a brother. From whatever quarter it may come, it is equally unfriendly and equally dangerous; and the South will be constrained at least to ward it off, whatever may be the consequence of her measures of defence.

That the policy of the abolitionists has produced, and is producing, consequences which involve the integrity of the Union, and the peace, and welfare of the country, can no longer be doubted. The occurrences and disclosures of the last twelve months, cannot but awaken, in every honest bosom, the most serious reflections. The conscientious abolitionists, if such there be, will pause to re-examine a cause thus pregnant with violence and peril; while the friends of Union, of freedom, of the country, whatever their creed or party, whether of the North or the South, will hasten, by energetic and effective measures, to prostrate forever, the treasonable conspiracy which menaces the existence of our country, and the peace and safety of our people.

FINIS.